

Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity
during the English Reformation

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Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity during the English Reformation

By

David J. Davis



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Cover illustration: Vision of Isaiah, in the *The holie bible* (Bishops Bible) (London: Richard Jugge, 1572), sig. 3K3v. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

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Dedicated to Lisa. Sine amore, nihil est vita.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CSPD—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, and James I, 1547–[1625]*, vol. 10: *Elizabeth* (London: Public Record Office, 1867)

ODNB—*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online*: <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

STC—*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, 3 vols., first compiled by A.W. Pollard & G.R. Redgrave; revised and enlarged / begun by W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer (London : Bibliographical Society, 1976–91)

TRCS—*A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640*, 5 vols., edited by Edward Arber (London: Privately Printed, 1875–94)

TRP—*Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 3: *The Later Tudors (1588–1603)*, edited by Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin (London: Yale University Press, 1969)

VAI—*Visitation Articles and Injunctions: Of the Period of the Reformation*, 3 vols., edited by Walter Howard Freer (London: Longmans, 1910)

INTRODUCTION: IMAGES AND EARLY MODERN RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

The first edition of John Foxe's influential *Actes and monuments* (c. 1563) related the following tale of the early reformer Jan Hus of Prague while imprisoned at the Council of Constance (c. 1415):

[Hus] had a vision by night that he had painted in the said church of Bethleem certain pictures of Christe and hys Apostles, the whiche pictures the bishop of Rome with certaine Cardinales came and defaced: which beinge done wythin a while after, it semed unto him that other painters cam in place, renuing and repairing the said pictures which he had painted before of Christe and hys Apostles, and muche more fairer then he had done before, the number of ... painters was so great that they gloried againste the Poope and all his Cardinals.

While the Hussite movement was localized in late-medieval Bohemia, this vision inspired sixteenth-century English reformers. The summary of Hus's vision and its prophetic message were read as providential precursors of God's plan, with the Protestant reformers serving as Hus's second group of painters.¹

A few years before Foxe's tome appeared, Queen Elizabeth had issued injunctions against all Catholic imagery in churches, "so that there remain no memory of the same."² Yet while officials carried out her orders, Elizabeth simultaneously ignored the bishops' pleas to remove the altar cross in her own Chapel Royal. Around the same time, in December 1563, the Catholic Council of Trent affirmed traditional image devotion; however, disputes subsequently arose among theologians concerning the image of God, particularly the manner in which the Trinity should be portrayed.³ The issue for Catholics was not if God should be depicted but rather how God was to be pictured and with what degree of reverence.

¹ John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* [...] (1563), book 2, p. 250, www.johnfoxe.org; Thomas Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride: The First Reformation in Hussite Bohemia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 83–85.

² VAI, II.16.

³ Jan Hallebeek, "Papal Prohibitions Midway between Rigor and Laxity on the Issue of Depicting the Holy Trinity," in *Iconoclasm and Iconoclasm: Struggle for Religious Identity*, eds. Willem van Asselt and others (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 353–86.

In place of the strict divide between Catholic images and Protestant iconoclasm that has often pervaded historical narratives of the Reformation, such examples indicate that images were a valuable and elaborate aspect of religious identity across the sixteenth century.⁴ Stories like Hus's vision of images placed the Reformation within a historical narrative that stretched back into the late-medieval period. Elizabeth's cross indicated that at least some Protestants, even in the later sixteenth century, did not despise all religious imagery, even as they destroyed some images. Nor were Catholics blindly accepting of all images without any sense of constraint or boundaries of propriety. Both in the dismantling (or restricting) and in the setting up of visual depictions, people expressed their own beliefs and sought to establish images with certain sacred, meditative, or otherwise religiously oriented functions.

This book's aim is to study images, specifically religious images printed as woodcuts and engravings in England during the Reformation. The reader should not expect an art history book or an illustrated history. The focus here will be on the historical and cultural importance of printed images in English society, particularly in the shaping of religious identity and reading practices, from roughly 1535 to 1603. In the past three decades, printed images and book illustrations have earned the respect of scholars as viable sources of knowledge about the past, beyond the boundaries of their aesthetic appeal and iconography. Roy Porter's call for a "school of visual history" is yet to be realized, but the significance of the visual source is no longer underestimated. Images are not merely aesthetic objects.⁵ They are storehouses of political, religious, and cultural meaning. Images are also active. They express beliefs, portray the psychological realm of dreams and fears, represent social constructions of "the other," signify prejudices and communal assumptions, and depict historical events. This study examines the crucial years of the Reformation in England, when visual religion was under attack. While the Reformation irreparably changed the landscape of visual religion, the reformers did not obliterate this scene, as is attested by the thousands of images that appeared in English print and the untold number of pictures that were imported from

⁴ Studies of iconoclasm remain essential in understanding the period. See e.g., Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, vol. 1: *Laws against Images* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

⁵ Roy Porter, "Review: Seeing the Past," *Past & Present* 118 (1988): 186–205 (186).

Europe.⁶ Here it will be argued that the relations between religious beliefs and images were more complicated than many scholars have recognized and that images served as expressions of religious identity throughout the Reformation. Indeed, the processes of reform and reaction reinforced a compulsion to visually depict certain aspects of religious belief as a way of disseminating ideas and ideology.

Studies by Joseph Monteyne, James Knapp, and Martha Driver demonstrate the versatility of the printed image as a cultural medium that communicated social values of gender, ethnicity, and morality, ideas about the past, and political ideology within the burgeoning early modern marketplace.⁷ This study will situate religious printed images within this discourse, demonstrating how visual images played a vital role in the construction of religious ideals. Unlike other sources of visual evidence (e.g. art, manuscript illustration, domestic décor, and architecture) printed images were reproduced thousands of times, in numerous titles and in several editions of the same book, allowing for a wider distribution of the ideas and beliefs they portrayed. Printed images served as valuable tools in a budding English printing industry and as material objects that people scribbled on, cut out, scratched through, and pasted-on walls, oftentimes with a high measure of intent that casts light upon how early modern culture responded to what was being portrayed. Visual representations were integral to the transformation of belief across the sixteenth century. Religious printed images served as models for prayer, inspiration for meditation, diagrams for the life of the mind, and exhortations to moral fortitude and action.⁸ Catholics used them as replicas of relics, souvenirs

⁶ Anthony Griffiths, keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, has recently commented that in the 1590s, someone walking through St Paul's churchyard in London (the main book market in the city) would have been completely surrounded by printed images ("The Print in Stuart Britain after Ten Years," paper presented at the *British Printed Images to 1700* Conference, Victoria and Albert Museum, 2008).

⁷ Joseph Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern London* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); James Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Martha Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and Its Sources* (London: British Library, 2004).

⁸ Mary Erler, "Pasted-In Embellishments in English Manuscripts and Printed Books, 1480–1533," *The Library*, 6th series, 4 (1992): 185–206; David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 67–68, 75–80; Margaret Aston, "Moving Pictures: Foxe's Martyrs and Little Gidding," in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, eds. Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist, and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 82–104. See the arguments in Tara Hamling and Richard Williams, "Introduction," in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, eds. Tara Hamling and Richard Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 4.

of pilgrimages, and lucrative indulgences. Protestants created commonplace books with entire series of woodcuts for their own devotional use, and they inserted pictures of reformers and Biblical saints into their books when illustrations were absent.⁹

This book does not suggest that the advent of printing created a stable, objective medium of communication and knowledge production along the lines that Elizabeth Eisenstein once argued. The triumphalism of Eisenstein's "revolution" of print has suffered heavy criticism, and rightly so. Adrian Johns, for example, calls for greater nuance in our understanding of printing's influence by elaborating on the various problems (e.g. piracy) and untidiness (e.g. typos, non-uniform copies) inherent in early European printing.¹⁰ Although Johns's work is by no means a comprehensive study, he moves towards a much more realistic picture of knowledge acquisition via print technology.¹¹ Elsewhere, scholars like Adam Fox have emphasized the continued relevance and impact of other forms of communication—speech, visual images, and manuscript culture—and the continuities and interrelations of the different media.¹² Printing undoubtedly altered European society irreversibly, but it did so within an established cultural milieu of communication. Among the most important of these media was the visual image. In the early modern period images and their proper functions were being refashioned along cultural, technological, and religious lines, as the printing trade grew in influence and as the religious changes of the Reformation began to have an impact on ideas, beliefs, and public opinion. Similarly, the interaction of image-based media with that of text is being transformed by the increasing dominance of the internet in contemporary society. Recent studies have demonstrated that new ways of using images and digital communication

⁹ Driver, *The Image in Print*, 8, 204–8. Examples of Protestant use of printed images include the British Library copy of Heinrich Bullinger, *Two Epistles, one of Henry bullynger* (London, 1548) [British Library call no. G.11813]; the Huntington Library copy of John Merbecke's *The lyves of holy sainctes, prophetes, patriarches, and others, contayned in holye Scripture* (London, 1574) [Huntington Library call no. 28899]; and British Library MS Egerton 1178: *ALBUM Amicorum of Johannes Spon, of Augsburg*.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

¹¹ William Sherman's review of Johns's book in *Historical Journal* 43 (2000): 1183–85.

¹² Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Also see Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

have altered not only the way knowledge is transmitted but also cognitive categories, parameters of scholarly analysis, definitions of aesthetics, phenomenological experience, and emphases on certain types of information.¹³ Although Tudor England is a long way from the information age, understanding how images affected early modern culture and mentalities may provide insight into the possible effects of our own technological revolutions.

In the contexts of both printing and the Reformation, printed images offer something of a bridge in the study of identity formation. This book seeks to highlight several neglected commonalities of Protestant and Catholic imagery that circulated in the public domain and to shed light on how these images provided cultural continuity between late-medieval and early modern England. Also, the book identifies certain enduring features of devotional practice and reading method among late-medieval and early modern readers that served as points of religious convergence, but which were also contested. Finally, this book discusses printed images in terms of their socio-economic importance in the print trade, as commodities in a new consumer market. Detailed investigations of such contexts can deepen our understanding of the ways in which images serve as representations of, and aids to understanding, religious belief.

Religious Identity and the English Reformation(s)

“Religious identity” needs some explanation, as it is the chief category within which we will chart religious images. Religious identity as a phrase has been batted about in academic circles, at times without much reflection. Most often scholars use the term to encompass definitions by individuals and / or groups of themselves and others along doctrinal, spiritual, sacred, ecclesiological, or sacramental lines. Church attendance, theological debates, liturgical forms, and ecclesiastical ceremony, for example, have been studied in order to examine religious belief with regard to identity. Such evidence establishes the parameters by which early modern groups sought to define both themselves and the other.

¹³ Kenneth L. Smith et al., eds., *The Handbook of Visual Communication: Theory, Methods, and Media* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Myint Swe Khine, ed., *Knowing, Knowledge and Beliefs: Epistemological Systems across Diverse Cultures* (New York: Springer, 2008).

To a certain extent, it clarifies the impact of reforms among various religious groups and cultures in early modern England.¹⁴

It is important to remember, however, that identity is not the same as culture or movement or group. Identity is a more permeable category, as discussion of visual expressions of religious identity makes evident. While church attendance and ceremony tend to portray clear lines of distinction between religious identities, cultural expressions of belief and practice can often produce hybrid forms that intersect and transcend these more rigid boundaries. As Nancy Ammerman has argued, even within “the most tightly bounded religious movement” there are elements of “dissent and therefore complex versions of identity.”¹⁵ People in the same church, sect, or religious movement often have varying opinions. Most importantly for this book, members of a single religious group did not always see eye-to-eye about the importance and role of visual representation. Also, religious identity is fundamentally tied to social interaction. In the early modern period, religious identity was not functionally divorced from non-religious aspects of life. We must recognize not only how a person’s religious identity shaped that person’s perceptions of other areas of life, but also how the realities of life affected religious identity. Finally, because it is socially and culturally rooted, religious identity is as much a historical category as a theological category. It reflects associations with past tradition as well as the ideas of reform that reshape or remove aspects of that tradition. It is delimited by issues such as technological advancement, socio-economic climate, language, education, social values, customs, and geography. Religious identity is therefore a useful category for contextualizing the role of printed images during the Reformation. Oftentimes, images printed in England cannot be attached firmly to a single confession or dogmatic stance because they were not contained by such boundaries but appeared

¹⁴ e.g., Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Alexander Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); David Hoyle, *Reformation and Religious Identity in Cambridge, 1590–1644* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007).

¹⁵ Nancy Ammerman, “Religious Identities and Religious Institutions,” in *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed. Michele Dillon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 208 n6. For a recent demonstration of these complexities in cultural expressions of belief during the Reformation see Jan Franz van Dijkhuizen and Richard Todd, eds., *Reformation Unsettled: British Literature and the Question of Religious Identity, 1560–1660* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009).

across the body of religious literature and had an impact on a wide spectrum of society.¹⁶

One goal of this book is to present a study of the Reformation that is not graphed along strict confessional or ideological lines that are either Protestant or Catholic. When images are studied, a confessional perspective too easily conflates all Protestants or all Catholics under a single doctrinal classification without fully unpacking the gradations of belief within each grouping. These gradations are particularly important as our understanding of the Reformation in England becomes, in Peter Marshall's words, "increasingly stretched and malleable," taking on wider chronological, thematic, and topical issues.¹⁷ The stretching of the Reformation is due in large part to the social and cultural complexities involved in the reforming process, which were first studied by revisionists in the 1980s.¹⁸ Post-revisionist studies, which quickly followed in the 1990s, further nuanced our understanding of the reforms. Today, the matter has become so complicated and the topics of study so diverse that to speak of the English Reformation as a homogenous movement is rightly considered anachronistic.¹⁹

Four key components of recent Reformation studies are particularly germane to examining visual images. First, the insular view of the English Reformation has been severely critiqued as a myopic interpretation that fails to account for the European influence on early modern English religion. Diarmaid MacCulloch's rebuke of this historiographical insularity has stirred important works that trace the depths of these

¹⁶ There is evidence for a shift in this regard in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century, as Catholics and Protestants began to employ certain similar iconographic elements: Els Stronks, *Negotiating Identities: Word, Image, and Religion in the Dutch Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); eadem, "Literature and the Shaping of Religious Identities: The Case of the Protestant Religious Emblem in the Dutch Republic," *History of Religions* 49 (2010): 219–53. I am indebted to Dr. Stronks for providing me with portions of her manuscript before its publication.

¹⁷ Peter Marshall, "(Re)defining the English Reformation," *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009): 567. For the seminal works on the stretching of these boundaries see Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988) and Nicholas Tyacke, *England's Long Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

¹⁸ Most cogently in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*; Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). For the traditional narrative: A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: Schocken, 1964).

¹⁹ Many scholars have set such nomenclature aside completely. For a complete explanation of this historiography see Marshall, "(Re)defining the English Reformation," 564–86.

Anglo-European ties.²⁰ This transnational perspective is essential to understanding religious images because most printed images in England originated in Europe in one way or another. Second, recent commentators have crossed the arbitrary chronological and cultural boundary between medieval and early modern societies by highlighting significant continuities. Connections have been made not only in belief and practice but also in more conscious appropriations of medieval tradition by early modern individuals and groups.²¹ Cultural continuities and the appropriation of tradition into new contexts were primary means by which printed images expressed values and beliefs as they refashioned older themes and messages into the market of Reformation print.

The third component of recent scholarship to inform this book is the emphasis on the diversity of interpretations, beliefs, and identities circulating in sixteenth-century England. One can no longer speak in simplified terms of Protestant and Catholic and hope to describe accurately most of the people involved. There were separatists and conforming puritans, church papists and recusants, Calvinists and avant-garde conformists, and evangelicals and conservatives, and the boundaries separating the groups often shifted over time. These groups differed on a variety of matters, from cross-confessional relations and allegiance to the monarchy to conformity to the state religion. Such characteristics were as true of the divisions within the late Henrician years as of the increasingly fractured "Calvinist consensus" of the early Stuart period, which crumbled under the weight of Arminianism and proto-Laudianism.²² Further distinctions between

²⁰ Diarmaid MacCulloch, "The Myth of the English Reformation," *Journal of British Studies* 30 (1991): 1–19, and *Reformation: Europe's House Divided, 1490–1700* (New York: Penguin, 2004); John Schofield, *Philip Melancthon and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) W.J. Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Ideology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Anne Overell, *Italian Reform and English Reformations, c.1535–c.1585* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

²¹ Eamon Duffy, "Continuity and Divergence in Tudor Religion," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 171–205; Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Robert Lutton and Elisabeth Salter, eds., *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c.1400–1640* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

²² Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); idem, "The Strange Death of Lutheran England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002): 64–92; Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie, eds., *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, 1590–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and*

Protestants have been made with the study of non-vocal and less radical groups like the Family of Love, which did not impose their views but nevertheless held them strongly.²³ The fruitful labour of Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke in *Altars Restored* has contributed the most systematic study to our understanding of such intricacies of belief by exposing underlying tensions within Protestant ceremonialism.²⁴ Fincham and Tyacke argue that altars were a key dividing point in Reformation culture and provide a microcosm of the varieties of Protestant belief and practice in England. Such complexity can also be seen in the English Catholic community's response to reform and its varied views on several crucial points concerning religious conformity and political allegiance, which demonstrate the vibrancy and dynamic nature of the community throughout the period.²⁵ In many ways, the printed images reflect this sort of diversity and the tensions latent within a society that possessed a certain variety in religious belief. The measure of religious tolerance in early modern England was paltry by modern standards. However, as we shall see, there were degrees of tolerance and efforts at accommodation, and the printed image was a key medium in making space for a plurality of religious identities.²⁶

The fourth, and final, component of recent work on early modern England to inform this study is a renewed interest in visual aspects of religion. Tessa Watt's ground-breaking critique of the iconophobia thesis in her *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* dismantled Patrick Collinson's 1580 watershed dating for the complete eradication of visual religion in England. Watt posited that the iconophobia thesis failed on at least three fronts: it fallaciously assumed an oppositional divide between word and

Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

²³ Christopher Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

²⁴ Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

²⁵ John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993); Ethan Shagan, ed., *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation": Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c. 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

²⁶ For recent reassessments of early modern tolerance see Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005) and Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

image in early modern communication; it did not account for the survival of traditional images in Reformation culture; and it conflated Protestants' iconoclastic temperament with an anti-visual disposition that most Protestants never possessed.²⁷ This dismantling of iconophobia has been followed by several attempts to describe how the tension between anti-idolatry attitudes and image making was worked out in reformed circles, most significantly by Margaret Aston and Ruth Luborsky.²⁸ These are certainly insightful works that have aided the analysis here. However, only recently have scholars of religious visual culture in England been able to move beyond the vague, and hampering, assumption that Protestantism was a religion of "the word alone in the medium of words, not the medium of sight."²⁹ This work will offer a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between religion and visual imagery, demonstrating that images served Protestant and Catholic alike in many significant, albeit different, ways.

Studying Early Modern Printed Images

Since the late 1930s, semiologist Roland Barthes and art historian Erwin Panofsky have held sway over the theoretical underpinnings of most cultural interpretations of visual images.³⁰ Although Panofsky's

²⁷ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 136–39.

²⁸ Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram, "The Iconography of the Acts and Monuments," in *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. D.M. Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 66–147; Ruth Luborsky, "Connections and Disconnections between Images and Texts: The Case of the Secular Tudor Book Illustration," *Word and Image* 3 (1987): 74–83; eadem, "The Illustrations: Their Pattern and Plan," in *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective*, ed. D.M. Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 67–84; eadem, "The Pictorial Image of the Jew in Elizabethan Secular Books," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 46 (1995): 449–53; John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); William Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²⁹ Dillenberger, *Images and Relics*, 190. In his recent work on early modern discourse about visual experience, Stuart Clark has made similar assertions about Protestant thought and belief: *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), ch. 5.

³⁰ Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York: Westview Press, 1939); Roland Barthes, "The Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, and Text*, ed. and trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Macmillan, 1977), 32–51 (first published as "Rhétorique de l'image," *Communications* 4 [1964]: 40–51).

iconology and Barthes's system of semiotic coding are highly influential methodologies, both have contributed to certain precarious and inhibiting ways of thinking about images. Panofsky, on one hand, constructed an entire symbolic framework within which to read the images in "perspective"; however, viewers must be equipped with these intellectual tools in order to access the images. Neglect of other potential ways of seeing undermines his method, making it difficult to imagine what someone would see if that person did not possess Panofsky's perspective.³¹ Barthes, on the other hand, argued that images had "no particular analytical language" of their own, describing them as ambiguous "series of discontinuous signs" full of visual polysemy that were totally reliant on the text for direction and meaning. This sort of method has influenced early modern scholars like Keith Moxey, who interpret visual images within semiotic systems in which "visual motifs depend upon ... the linguistic sign." Certainly, there is much to be said for Barthes's promotion of the relation between image and literary text, but the assumption that images depend upon words for any meaning is grounded more in scholars' preconceived conceptions of the clarity of text than in the ambiguity of images.³²

Studying large bodies of early modern printed images has been a part of European historiography since Robert Scribner's 1981 seminal work, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*.³³ While Scribner has received some harsh criticism, his methodology and emphasis on the communicative aspects of the image have been adopted by other scholars, particularly his insistence, reiterated by Charles Zika, that images must be studied within their localized, historio-cultural milieu.³⁴ Studies of printed images in England,

³¹ The best critiques of Panofsky are W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 17–19, and Joel Snyder, "Picturing Vision," in *The Language of Images*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 219–46.

³² Barthes, "The Rhetoric of the Image," 47, 34; Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 7.

³³ Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), and idem, *Religion and Culture in Germany, 1400–1800*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Scribner's work has been followed by Charles Zika in *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) and *The Appearance of Witchcraft: Print and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Routledge, 2007). Also, the topic of Catholic visual propaganda in has been broached recently in Jennifer Spinks, "Monstrous Births and Counter-Reformation Visual Polemics: Johann Nas and the 1569 *Ecclesia Militans*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 40 (2009): 335–63.

³⁴ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 107–20. Pettegree's analysis of Scribner in some ways is timely and useful. However, his argument relies on certain absolutizing assumptions that do not deal

however, have advanced somewhat differently for some very important reasons. First, the limited nature of the English printing trade created a dependence upon European resources that has had a detrimental impact on the study of English images. The earliest bibliographies of English images, which remain good reference tools, regularly bemoaned the shoddy craftsmanship and hodgepodge nature of the English print trade. Second, the official nature of the Reformation in England has led to a strong emphasis upon the iconoclastic and anti-iconic characteristics of reform. This is most apparent in the limited number of titles to which reference is made when printed images in England are assessed. Research by Margaret Aston, Ruth Luborsky, and, most recently, James Knapp has covered only a few examples of printed works, leaving a large body of print unexplored and overlooked.³⁵ Third, the low quality of the images that were produced in England has not encouraged a great deal of academic research because most scholars, until recently, dealt with images within art historical (i.e. aesthetic) models of evaluation. Even Scribner's research is heavily reliant on Panofskian models. When one turns to the English context, such models are more cumbersome than helpful because of the images' limited aesthetic quality. The impression provided by the extant literature is that with the exception of a few key printed works, the English print trade after 1535 produced very few illustrated books of significance or printed images, partly because of its socio-economic backwardness and partly because of Protestant iconoclasm.³⁶

Nevertheless, there are signs of hope for future studies of printed images. The recently launched *British Printed Images to 1700* database will provide accessible resources and methodologies.³⁷ Another way forward is the history of the book and the study of books as material objects.

altogether fairly with either Scribner's study or the impact of printed images on sixteenth-century culture. For more, see my review of Pettegree's book in *Ex Historia* 1 (2009): 62–64.

³⁵ Luborsky, "The Illustrations: Their Pattern and Plan"; Aston, *The King's Bedpost*; Margaret Aston, "The Bishops' Bible Illustrations," in *The Church and the Arts*, ed. Diana Wood (Studies in Church History 28; Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 267–85; Aston and Ingram, "The Iconography of the *Actes and Monuments*."

³⁶ It should be noted that James Knapp made a similar point in "The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century England," in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 151–72. My point here is not that scholars are unaware of the wide field of printed images or that they are callous about its significance. I am sure many would agree with Knapp's analysis on this matter. However, the focus in much of the scholarship has been on a few selected illustrations and books, leaving a sense of an extremely limited number of printed images.

³⁷ Michael Hunter, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010); see also, for the database, <http://www.bpi1700.org.uk>.

Martha Driver's examination of the early English printer Wynkyn de Worde is foremost in this regard.³⁸ Driver's *The Image in Print* analyses images as both cultural expressions and material commodities, stressing the role of the printer in their creation, distribution, and employment. Because most sixteenth-century printed images in England were created anonymously and appeared in a variety of texts over several decades, the best means of establishing any sort of authorial intent is through the various printers, who almost always retained ownership rights.³⁹ Print history helps illuminate points of cultural and religious appropriation by indicating where and when a particular image or particular imagery was used and how those contexts changed over time. Driver identifies many of the characteristics of English printed images that will be discussed in the following chapters—particularly the recycling,⁴⁰ reprinting, and transmitting of images—and highlights the communicative value of images as expressions of religious, social, and cultural opinion. It is becoming more apparent that images, as Luborsky once stated, developed and communicated in terms “irrespective of the text,” but not totally divorced from it.⁴¹ In the English context, this independent communicability is best examined in the movement and transmission of images across time, which could create “webs of meaning” that informed and challenged readers.⁴² Finally, Driver's examination demonstrates awareness of useful approaches in the history of the book. This literature has encouraged scholars to be more attuned to the physicality of print and the phenomenological encounters between readers and books.⁴³ Understanding how, for example, the size, shape, placement, and colour of an image affected the reading experience

³⁸ Also exemplary is John N. King, *Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), ch. 3.

³⁹ Driver, *The Image in Print*, chs. 2–3.

⁴⁰ By “recycling” I mean the practice of printing one image in various texts. Here “reprinting” denotes the reproduction of the same image in subsequent editions of the original text.

⁴¹ Luborsky, “The Pictorial Image of the Jew,” 452. Also see Lee Palmer Wandel, “Envisioning God: Images and Liturgy in Reformation Zurich,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 21–40 (22); Zika, *The Appearance of Witchcraft*, 2.

⁴² Driver, *The Image in Print*, 115.

⁴³ Driver, *The Image in Print*, 107–14, 185–214. See also Matthew P. Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); D.F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays*, eds. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Roger Chartier, “General Introduction: Print Culture,” in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3–15.

will enhance our understanding of the printed image as a communicative device.⁴⁴ Such characteristics of the image are as significant to their cultural value as their pictorial content because these physical attributes indicate aspects such as intended audience and cost, as well as purpose and intended message.

Seeing Faith, Reading Images

In his authoritative book *The Reformation of the Image*, Joseph Koerner teases out the intellectual and religious meanings and motivations behind Lutheran art in the sixteenth century. Koerner offers a comprehensive critique of art historians, eschewing much of what he considers an ahistorical dependence upon modern aesthetic values. Thus he comments, "Reformation images look less like bad art than like bad art history."⁴⁵ Reformation art does not fit properly into the mould that has been fashioned by art historians. Instead, an approach that is not constricted by aesthetic ideals is needed, an approach that recognizes the intended simplicity of visual images in the Reformation and seeks to understand them in light of the Reformation culture and mindset.

Despite their limited aesthetic qualities, these images communicated messages of religious importance. The tension that permeates this book, as it permeates Koerner's study, is between iconoclasm and image making, between destroying church images and employing them in religious literature. This tension was particularly prevalent in England, where the adopted Calvinist doctrine was much more rigorous than the doctrine found in Lutheran Germany and where aspects of traditional religion continued to survive in a variety of ways. One can easily envision the ideal reformer with a hammer aimed at idols in one hand and an illustrated Bible in the other. While this vision may seem inconsistent, many Protestants, including Calvinists, defended such a position, and many of the printed images in Protestant works were either direct appropriations

⁴⁴ Most important in this regard is William Slights, *Managing Readers: Printing Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001). I have thus far identified eight distinct places where an image could be printed in a text: on or opposite the frontispiece, at the end of the literary text, at the beginning or ending of a section/chapter, as a fold-out, on the border, within the text, and on the page opposite the first page of literary text. Each location evoked certain meanings and was used with different intentions, which will be explained in more detail in subsequent chapters.

⁴⁵ Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2004), 26.

from earlier Catholic books or had strong iconographic and symbolic continuities with previous works. Images stood alongside literary texts in a variety of ways that do not always conform to our modern understanding of a picture in a book and indicate that these works were not merely picture books but a means by which to see and represent one's faith. This leads us to the essential questions that are at the heart of any study of religious images in history. What was the role of these images? How were they used? How influential were they in communicating ideas and beliefs? And finally, what can they tell us about the contemporary religious culture?

How images were used speaks directly to the question of how images shaped religious identity, and the answer is not spoken with a single voice. Scholars of the medieval period have identified at least five different uses of images and illustration, particularly in spiritual and religious reading.⁴⁶ However, such variety was not retained into the Reformation. Scribner rooted printed images in literary texts, which exerted either an "anchorage" (purely illustrative) or a "relay" (correlative) relationship. Lee Palmer Wandel has expanded on a version of the relay model, describing printed images as in a discursive relationship with what is written, complementing and augmenting the words.⁴⁷ These are useful categories, but they do not encompass all possible reading practices. Still more adventurous are the deconstructionist interpretations that challenge the authority of the text, placing an incredible amount of interpretive power in the hands of the reader. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker remind us that printed material was not accepted as truth *a priori*. They then suggest that even the Bible became something "to be edited, emended, retranslated, glossed, interrogated and, *in fine*, deconstructed."⁴⁸ The reality of this liberty to use

⁴⁶ The five types are meditative, mnemonic, self-reflexive, performative, and dissenting. See Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire of God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catharine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961); Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise L. Despres, *Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Illustration in the Douce "Piers Plowman"* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

⁴⁷ Robert Scribner, "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late Medieval and Reformation Germany," in Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany*, 104–28; Wandel, "Envisioning God."

⁴⁸ Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, "Introduction: Discovering the Renaissance Reader," in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4. Also see William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

a text as the reader saw fit must be taken into account, and we must be careful to avoid any interpretation that excludes the importance of readers. However, as Sharpe and Zwicker admit, readers are still a product of a particular time and place, even the more radical and adventurous readers, so they must be understood within that context, not divorced from it.⁴⁹ Even though they were often iconographically simplistic, images had complex relations with literary texts and thus invoked, whether intentionally or not, an array of reading habits that were based upon their physicality, the readers' literacy, and the historical environment in which they were being seen. What is needed is not a deconstruction of authorial intent but rather a recognition that authorial (and printers') intentions did not always satisfy the reader, who was free to take the image as he or she liked.⁵⁰

This study will demonstrate that image use in the Reformation period, like religious identity more generally, should not be segregated into Protestant and Catholic categories. Here religious images will be studied as religious texts, like the literature they illustrated. These visual texts possessed a particular intent prescribed by their printer/author that can be accessed by studying the literary context and the physical aspects of the image. However, Natalie Davis's warning "it is especially important to realize that people do not necessarily agree with the values and ideas in the books they read" will never be far from the analysis here.⁵¹

Sources and Chapters

We must resist the temptation to summarize an image's influence on the basis of the number of its printings alone. Any such numbers must be placed within several interlaced contexts that include the strength of the print trade, the availability of raw materials and skilled labour,

⁴⁹ Charles Zika explains, "Social modes of viewing govern the ways in which individuals or groups see, and consequently, they influence the relationship between reader and image" (*Exorcising Our Demons*, 540). Patrick Collinson has made a similar assessment concerning John Foxe's *Actes and monuments*: "I think it more likely that Foxe was read in ways that were shared and mutually understood than that he was read in any number of ways" (Patrick Collinson, "John Foxe and National Consciousness," in *John Foxe and His World*, eds. Christopher Highley and John N. King [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002], 210).

⁵⁰ I am indebted to D.F. McKenzie's ideas on this front in his *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 19.

⁵¹ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 191.

the purpose of the particular printed image, the intended audience, and what is being represented. Compounding this complexity is the fluid nature of the printed book as a material object. Since books were usually sold unbound, their pages and their images could go missing or be intentionally removed without notice. They could be manipulated, moved around, and attached to other texts with relative ease, making any analysis of the number of printed images much more challenging. Further, quantitative evidence does not give an account of the separate and competing forces of the market, the public demand for such material goods, and government censorship, which often banned salacious or heretical works. That said, quantitative evidence can help us establish the reach of printed images and provide a basic understanding of the scope of visual culture.

The best estimates suggest that fifteen thousand titles were published in England between 1500 and 1603, and more than five thousand printed images from the period between 1536 and 1603 have been catalogued.⁵² While the numbers are considerably lower than in other European countries, they are not nearly as insignificant as a visual vacuum created by iconophobia would suggest. Though no single catalogue for English printed images exists, several older bibliographic works, like those of Edward Hodnett and R.B. McKerrow,⁵³ provide a starting point. The more thorough *Guide to English Illustrated Books* by Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram and the current *British Printed Images to 1700* project offer hope of a more extensive catalogue in the future. However, even with a significant proportion of printed images as yet unlisted, the numbers currently catalogued are significant. If a conservative 200 copies of each of the more than five thousand images recorded by Luborsky and Ingram was printed, excluding any reprints or recycling, over one million images would have been in circulation.

The limited nature of English printing and the iconoclastic spirit of Protestantism testify in many ways to the influence and importance of

⁵² The number of titles is derived from John Barnard and Maureen Bell, "Appendix I," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. IV: 1557–1695, eds. John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 779–84. This conservative number is based on the images catalogued in Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603* (2 vols.; Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998). However, this catalogue does not include the numerous single-sheet woodcuts and engravings in the Prints and Drawings Room at the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, and the Ashmolean Museum.

⁵³ Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480–1535* (London: Oxford University press, 1973); R.B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485–1640* (London: The Chiswick Press, 1914).

images. The fact that images were a limited commodity and yet appeared and reappeared across the religious spectrum indicates that they were both popular and culturally valuable. Woodcuts and engravings were often reproduced in numerous editions and various titles, creating thousands of copies of a single image. This process of copying and recycling was characteristic of the English print trade. While it has often been seen as evidence of the backward nature of English print, recycling also shaped the printing industry, creating continuities between images and texts across large time spans and establishing a consistent and interrelated body of images.⁵⁴ The majority of the images studied in this work were recycled or copied throughout the period, which is indicative of their remarkable resilience. Many pre-Reformation images, along with five collected illustrated works reappeared in print shops after 1560, demonstrating the powerful compulsion to reuse and recycle even the oldest of pictures. Many of those examined have been studied in multiple copies and editions to ensure that those images reportedly printed in a book were commonly present. The scenes portrayed in the images tend to be Biblical, though many allude to some scriptural passage or narrative through contemporary content. The purpose of these images was not merely illustrative: they not only visualized the Biblical past but also used the scriptural narrative and language to interpret early modern events and circumstances.

Chapter one examines the socio-economic factors of image production in Reformation England, addressing the limitations and insufficiencies of the English market. It will be shown that although the printers were dependent upon European markets, printed images in England were nonetheless culturally important in shaping public opinion and religious identity. Chapter two will address context—the Protestant movement in England—and its impact on the production and dissemination of religious printed images, particularly in the Henrician and Edwardian years. Chapter three shifts the discussion to consider the survival of overtly Catholic images—with specific emphasis on images of Christ and the Virgin—and notes how these images were either appropriated into reformed contexts or able to flourish in more traditional texts at different times. Chapter four studies Protestant representations of Christ, one of the most frequently depicted figures in Reformation religious print. Far from eliminating the visual Christ, reformers attempted to refashion messages conveyed in such images and in so doing provided an excellent

⁵⁴ Luborsky, "Connections and Disconnections," 81–84.

example of how religious identity was being constructed along visual lines. Chapter five overturns the common assumption that anthropomorphized images of God were completely absent in the Reformation and explains how certain images of God continued to play an important role in Protestant literature until the last two decades of the sixteenth century. The final chapter examines the visual transition from traditional representations of God as a man to symbolic depictions of God such as the Tetragrammaton. Although such symbols have often been interpreted as evidence of Protestant iconophobia, it will be argued that these images indicate a growing solidity of certain religious identities, as specific symbols and images were increasingly identified with particular groups. Symbols like the Tetragrammaton also provide examples of transformation in Reformation visual culture. Reformation printed images were far from completely innovative; they were deeply rooted in medieval and ancient tradition. In examining these images, it will become apparent that the Reformation produced not so much a conflict between visual and non-visual religion as a struggle to establish new parameters for the visualization of belief and practice.

CHAPTER ONE

MATERIAL RELIGION: THE IMAGE IN EARLY MODERN PRINT

In the late-sixteenth century, printed pages flooded every corner of St Paul's churchyard, Paternoster Row, and Fleet Street, in London. Large and pocket-size Bibles, folio tomes of theology and science, cheap quarto pamphlets, broadsides, prayer books, and octavo devotionals packed bookstalls and merchants' shops. Illustrations coloured this world with a panoply of religious scenes. Printed images were emblazoned upon frontispieces, inserted within texts, and produced alone as single-page prints. While the image-making industry in England was quite small, English stationers forged their own market for woodcuts and engravings by copying and recycling older images and by importing new images from the thriving markets overseas. This chapter maps out the place of printed images within this larger marketplace of print by outlining the key cultural factors and socio-economic contours of English print.

The discussion that follows lays the foundations for understanding printed images within a marketplace that extended beyond the boundaries of Tudor England. The international market was complex, with exports, imports, regulations, and certain serious limitations. Early modern printing was entrenched in a multifaceted context of text, readership, market, and technology, which was neither fixed nor standardized in the sixteenth century. Like the literary text, the image too, as a visual text, was first created in the mind of an artisan, then manufactured in the print shop, sold by a merchant, and seen by a diverse readership. The marketplace provides a material and historical context in which to anchor our understanding of images and enables us to access what David McKitterick has called "this extra dimension, of time."¹ Until recently, the study of English print was pulled in several different directions. Earlier scholars had been satisfied simply to catalogue illustrations as aesthetic expressions. In the 1980s, the printing trade provided material for a Marxist-informed reading of early modern culture that emphasized the economic materiality and commodification of society. More recent views have

¹ David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1.

formed a general consensus that the English trade was little more than a backward, second-rate participant in the proliferation of Reformation print. While each of these interpretations lends a modicum of truth, as we will see, they are hardly comprehensive and tend toward oversimplification.

The Public Sphere and Commodification

Scholars dealing with printed images typically treat their subjects either as visual representations, like pieces of art, or purely as material commodities. The majority of historical and literary scholars in the past two decades have adopted the former approach. However, a handful of studies have examined images for insights into our understanding of the early modern economy and market culture. Influenced by Jürgen Habermas's sociological theories of the public sphere as well as by economic histories of the birth of capitalism in Europe, these works have emphasized the popularity of print and its increasing appeal to the masses, as a precursor to the emergence of materialistic capitalism.²

Studies of cheap print and early modern popular culture demonstrate both the widening influence of the printed page and an increasing sense of printed works as commercial objects.³ Each printed text had a certain audience, which was determined by its content and market cost. An image could be first engraved for a more costly work and then copied into a woodblock for a cheap broadsheet. This copying and reproduction made images diffuse representations that crossed many social groups. A conservative estimate for the number of copies of a single printed work is two hundred, and a maximum estimate is fifteen hundred.⁴ The number of

² Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); David Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace: Idolatry and Commodity Fetishism in English Literature, 1580–1680* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001); Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

³ Some important studies in this regard are Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981).

⁴ Mary Hampson Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation: Protestant Best Sellers, Private Devotion, and the Revolution of English Piety* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson, 2007), 51–55. See also Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Peter Blayney, *The Bookshops in Pauls Cross Churchyard* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1990).

copies of a single printed image that appeared in several texts over the course of its life could multiply several times over. In light of the increasing commercial distribution of print, early modern literary studies have begun to pay close attention to print's agency as a commodity, an emphasis first set out in Elizabeth Eisenstein's classic study *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. More recently, Michael Saenger's work on "front matter" concludes that such material constructed "contemporary ways of understanding and marketing relations between readers and books."⁵ Both text and image were used to help shape the social interaction between people and books. With the immense growth of the print trade, these advertisements also influenced broader issues such as religious belief, monarchical loyalty, and social stability.

In a different sort of study, David Hawkes has examined how the birth of the market economy came into contact, and oftentimes conflict, with the "natural teleology" of early modern England. Hawkes focuses upon the premier works and thinkers of the period, highlighting a "homology" between early modern ideas of idolatry and modern fetishization. Hawkes argues that because of the market economy, which in his opinion seems to be a product of the technology of print and other mass-marketing industries, there was an emerging conscious anxiety about the objectification of material objects, which could be construed as a type of idolatry.⁶ Likewise, Alexandra Halasz offers a deep reading of several well-known pamphlets of the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the context of the public sphere. Avoiding any strict determinist link between the rise of print technology and a consumer-oriented capitalism, Halasz suggests that there was at least "a phobic conception of widely circulated discourses," produced by the influence of printing and by its dissemination.⁷ Though she does not assess images directly, there is a sense that visual texts can form their own discourse, like that picked up in their literary counterparts by historians of the book and literary scholars. The commodity of print could be found more in the possibilities of printing than in its agency. In particular, cheap print signified "a proliferation of texts that undoes distinctions of status and vocation and provides indiscriminate

⁵ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). Eisenstein's work has been heavily critiqued over the past three decades, particularly in Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 19. See also Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements*, 3.

⁶ Hawkes, *Idols of the Marketplace*, 6, 17.

⁷ Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, 2.

access to irresponsible discussions of topical issues.”⁸ This undoing of social boundaries was essential in constructing a marketplace of printing.

In a similar fashion, Chandra Mukerji attributes the popularity of printed images to a growing hedonism and materialism in early modern society that fuelled the emergence of a mass culture. Analysing the growth in the number of pictorial prints in the sixteenth century, Mukerji states, “The movement of goods could be such a powerful cultural force because the increased production and use of consumer commodities was helping to join both rich and poor into similar market relations and gathering together buyers into common patterns of taste.”⁹ Working from the idea of print as a transformative agent in society, Mukerji’s analysis anachronistically invokes categories of materialism and modern consumption in order to trace and explain their origins. What is severely neglected in this sort of analysis is the significance of the printed image in a pre-consumer, pre-modern economy. While Mukerji rightly criticizes historians for not attending sufficiently to illustrations and printed images, she herself fails to comprehend the full importance of such images. By using them solely as an example of this mass culture, she assumes that the images “tend to be valued for nothing more than their decorative uses” in early modern culture.¹⁰ Assigning simplistic and solitary uses to the images, Mukerji overlooks their possible cultural importance beyond that of mass-market items as she divides prints into “great” and “little” traditions, each of which was intended to appeal to one of the distinctive class-based communities of the period.

Studies such as these offer key points of departure for a foray into how printed works became material objects and commodities. Historians cannot ignore the role materialistic consumerism played in the development of print. One aspect of printed images that offers insight with such analysis is the recycling and reprinting of images, which I have analysed in detail elsewhere.¹¹ Ruth Luborsky confirms the importance of the recycling practice and writes that “the image itself irrespective of the text ... became a general one.”¹²

⁸ Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print*, 57.

⁹ Mukerji, *From Graven Images*, 77.

¹⁰ Mukerji, *From Graven Images*, 37.

¹¹ David Davis, “Images on the Move: The Virgin, the *Kalendar of Shepherds*, and the Transmission of Woodcuts in Tudor England,” *Journal of the Early Book Society* 12 (2009): 99–132.

¹² Ruth Luborsky, “The Pictorial Image of the Jew in Elizabethan Secular Books,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 46 (1995): 452.

There is danger, however, in stressing commodity and agency too much and thereby overlooking two integral elements: the subject of the text or image and the consumer as reader. While an image could illustrate and advance the meaning of a text, it also had the ability to move beyond the literary text, containing its own meaning and message. As we shall see at the end of this chapter, this facility allowed images to be removed from the confines of a page to transcend the boundaries of their original context and become generalized representations. These images were material objects as well as visual representations, and they could garner a readership wider than that of any single text in which they appeared. Printed images, like other visual media, conveyed a pictorial message that must be understood within a cultural framework. The early modern printed image cannot be reduced to mere advertisement and marketing tool. To ascribe purely economic and consumerist motivations to the practices of Reformation printers is misleading. John King has usefully described John Day's printing house as "a lucrative business" within which "religious zeal was a guiding force."¹³ Although early modern society demonstrated aspects of capitalism, it by no means resembled our modern market of material consumption. While studies of material culture provide interesting insights into the multifaceted role of images as commodities, they tend towards oversimplified explanations about the use and influence of images. As Martha Driver has aptly assessed, "Though images may not directly record reality, they remain suggestive about practices and attitudes of the cultures producing them, appearing as projections of cultural consciousness."¹⁴

This point is evident from recent studies on the history of the book led by David McKitterick, Roger Chartier, D.F. McKenzie, and others. Calling for a more integrative methodology, these scholars argue for an approach that deals, as Chartier has written, with "the text itself," "the object that conveys the text," and "the act that grasps it."¹⁵ Combined, these elements

¹³ John King, *Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 83.

¹⁴ Martha Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and Its Sources* (London: British Library, 2004), 151.

¹⁵ Roger Chartier, "Texts, Printing, Readings," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (London, 1989), 157; Roger Chartier, ed., *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999); David McKitterick, *A History of the Cambridge University Press*, vol. I: *Printing and the Book Trade in Cambridge, 1534–1698* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). See also William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Matthew P. Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee:*

emphasize both the materiality of print and the meaning with which readers and publishers imbued these texts. In particular, McKenzie and McKitterick focus on the material nature of printed images as objects of paper and ink, derived from wood and metal. Not only were the objects very transportable, often exchanged, sold, stolen, copied, and/or reused, but their application could also be extremely messy. As McKitterick explains, "The printing of illustrations could be by no means straightforward. They sometimes arrived late; they were often mislaid; and their size and shape were not necessarily in accord with the format or page size selected by the printer."¹⁶ The growing pains of the printing industry plagued provincial printer and master alike. They also alert us to the material limitations of early print. Although we do not know how this affected the reading process, it is clear that a uniformity of knowledge did not follow lock step with the printing press.

Moreover, while images usually originated in Europe, the relationship between Europe and England was more symbiotic than parasitic, as images and texts travelled to and from England and Europe. Throughout the century, the print trade in England and western Europe developed a matrix of connections, often influenced by the political and religious climate of the locations where printers were established. Englishmen worked and traded in Paris, Antwerp, and Frankfurt. Europeans exploited a fresh demand for their stock in London, Oxford, Cambridge, and other provincial market towns. Images moved with stationers, who included booksellers, publishers, and printers, across an international network of print shops, potentially creating thousands of copies and a variety of textual contexts.

Censorship and Religious Identity

Recent scholarly work has highlighted the inadequacies of early English printing. Unlike many printing houses on the continent, those in England

Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Evelyn B. Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993).

¹⁶ McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, 88. An excellent example of this messiness in Tudor England is provided by Richard Day's much discussed prayer books *Christian prayers and meditations* and *A booke of Christian prayers*, in which pictures went missing between editions only to reappear later and border woodcuts were often turned upside down: William Engel, *Mapping Mortality: The Persistence of Memory and Melancholy in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 161.

were diminutive in size, second-rate in skill, and almost always lacklustre in innovation. R.B. McKerrow claims that with the Reformation, English printed images fell into “almost complete extinction.”¹⁷ Two of the most prominent characteristics of the English trade, which set it apart from printing on the continent, were its limited scale, in both readership and printers, and its centralized official regulation. Nevertheless, there is something quite unfair about dismissing English print simply because it did not measure up to its European rivals, without examining the trade on its own terms. Even though all of the criticisms levelled at it are more or less accurate, these unappealing characteristics shaped a unique print culture in early modern England.¹⁸ The contours of this print culture in turn aided in the construction of identity during the Reformation.

For our purposes here, two key elements of this print culture will be discussed. First, the heavy regulatory system—while no friend of expression—provides a useful perspective on the official position on printed images. Since licensing regulations were introduced early in the sixteenth century and oversight heightened as the century progressed, scholars can measure the ecclesiastical and political acceptability of texts more accurately for England than for elsewhere in Europe. That is to say, what was printed in England was usually licensed by the state. Second, the limitations of the English trade forced stationers to turn to Europe for the better part of their stock. Because of the high costs of printing, coupled with England’s limited paper supply and lack of skilled labour, printers relied heavily on their continental connections. McKerrow and F.S. Ferguson suggest that “almost to the close of the [sixteenth] century foreign influence is still very considerable.”¹⁹ The influx of foreign printers, skilled labour, materials, presses, paper, and printed images was absorbed into an internationalism that became characteristic of English illustrated print.

¹⁷ R.B. McKerrow, “Booksellers, Printers, and the Stationer’s Trade,” in *Shakespeare’s England: An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age*, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996 [imprint 1932]), 233. Similar assessments have been made in Andrew Pettegree, “Printing and the English Reformation: The English Exception,” in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, eds. Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 157–79, and Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 125.

¹⁸ I have traced some of the elements of this print culture in more detail in David Davis “‘The vayne of Eternall memorie’: Contesting Representations of Queen Elizabeth in English Woodcuts,” *Word & Image* 27 (2011): 65–76.

¹⁹ R.B. McKerrow and F.S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1932 [for 1931]), xvi.

The regulation and censorship of English print sheds light on the place of printed images within the Reformation marketplace. England's censorship developed rather quickly from *ad hoc* licensing under Henry VII to a more formalized system of licenses issued by the bishop of London and, finally, to the institutionalization of the Stationers' Company, which oversaw censorship.²⁰ Although the early (c. pre-1530) print trade included a small number of presses scattered around the countryside, London had always been the centre of the English printing world, and it was only after the reestablishment of Cambridge University Press in the 1580s that London had any competition whatsoever. In 1557, when the Stationers' Company received a royal charter, it had only ninety-seven members, most of whom were not printers but booksellers and publishers. Of the few dozen stationers who were actively printing, only a handful had more than two presses, severely limiting the output and variety of the works they printed.

Throughout the sixteenth century, direct monarchical regulation was ever present in the granting of privileges (i.e. monopolies) and licenses and the banning of certain books.²¹ Even while John Foxe wrote of the birth of printing as "the advauncement of his [God's] glory ... for the abolishynge of ignorans and Idolatry," print was never seen as an *a priori* blessing for the realm.²² Henry VIII, his children, and the early Stuarts waged a continuous battle to control the flow of print. The monarchs were prone to focus on seditious and heretical texts that were "traitorous or lewd and slanderous ... in writing or in print."²³ Dubious religious texts could easily be interpreted as seditious. George Elyot believed that through print Catholics intended "to drawe the Queenes Majestres subjects their heartes and faithes both from God and her highness."²⁴ This was not only

²⁰ Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403–1959* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960).

²¹ Deborah Shuger, *Censorship and Cultural Sensibility: The Regulation of Language in Tudor-Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Cynthia Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); eadem, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Anthony Milton, "Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England," *The Historical Journal* 41(1998): 625–51; Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

²² John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* [...] (1563), www.johnfoxe.org.

²³ "Ordering Arrest for Circulating Seditious Books and Bulls," 1 July 1570, TRP, III.342.

²⁴ George Elyot, *A very true report of the apprehension and taking of that arche Papist Edmond Campion* (London, 1581), sig. A3r.

a matter of religion but also of national identity, as Catholics used print and other media to lure people away from the official church.

The Catholic faith was not the only perceived threat to political order. Indeed, the earliest incidents of book censorship were aimed at Protestant texts. In the 1520s, Thomas Garrett was charged with selling Lutheran works in Oxford.²⁵ In December 1524, the respected printer Wynkyn de Worde was arraigned for his involvement in the printing of *The ymage of love*, which had been declared heretical the previous year. The following year, a host of prestigious London stationers including de Worde, Robert Redman, Robert Copland, Richard Pynson, who was the King's printer at the time, Robert Wyer, and Thomas Berthelet (Pynson's former assistant) were warned by Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall not to print any Lutheran or other heretical works.²⁶ Others were not so fortunate as to escape with only a warning. In the 1540s, Protestant printers connected with the Coverdale Bible, including William Middleton, John Maylour, Thomas Petyt, Richard Grafton, and Edward Whitchurch, were imprisoned.²⁷

From the years between 1558 and 1603 there are more than fifteen proclamations concerning illegal printing or distribution of printed and manuscript works. Most of these proclamations dealt in very broad strokes with sedition, heresy, treason, and lewdness, interpretations that could be applied equally to dissenting puritan and recusant Catholic texts. Only a few focus on specific books (e.g. the Marprelate Tracts), and another small number highlighted particular groups such as Jesuit priests and the Family of Love.²⁸ Many secret Catholic presses, which will be discussed in chapter three, were operating in and around London after the mid 1570s. Elsewhere, one of the most public events of censorship in the Elizabethan era was the condemnation of puritan John Stubbs's *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf* (c. 1578) for its negative portrayal of the Queen's Catholic suitor, the Duke of Anjou. For claiming the potential union of Anjou and the Queen posed a threat to the unity of the country and to the Queen's life, Stubbs lost

²⁵ McKitterick, *A History of Cambridge University Press*, I.24. For the sources of much of this Lutheran literature see Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*; Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2004).

²⁶ N.F. Blake, "Worde, Wynkyn de (d. 1534/5)," ODNB; McKitterick, *A History of the Cambridge University Press*, I.22–37.

²⁷ Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 54, 116–17.

²⁸ "Ordering Prosecution of the Family of Love," 3 October 1582, TRP, II.652; "Declaring Jesuits and Non-Returning Seminarians Traitors," TRP, II.660.

his hand, and copies of his book were burned.²⁹ Throughout the century other printers suffered fines and imprisonment for surreptitious printing and for printing without a license in general. It was not uncommon for popular and respectable stationers to be hauled before the Company's officers or even before the Privy Council for some censorship violation.³⁰ Interestingly, in all of these cases of censorship, printed images, particularly those in Protestant books, were rarely, if ever, identified as something to be censored. While religious injunctions identified Catholic books and printed images as dangerous, these did not necessarily translate into the mainstream printing trade of Reformation England. In fact, I have yet to come across a case of a text being banned from the presses or subsequently censored specifically because its religious images were unacceptable. In the Stuart period, the censorship of print is equally silent on printed images. Cynthia Clegg's argument that there was a "proliferation of agency that actually diminished central authority" is perhaps overstated. The censorship and regulation of books did increase, if merely in a bureaucratic manner. The fact remains, however, that printed images were not the primary focus of censorship.³¹

There are several reasons for this neglect of images in the statutes. First, regulations against images in certain books came quite late to the Reformation. By 1558, book illustration was a deeply rooted aspect of reformed printing included in almost every English Bible and New Testament, in Henrician and several Edwardian primers and prayer books, and in many other reformed texts. The illustration of texts had been assimilated by the reformers from a longstanding tradition of early print and manuscript illustration. Secondly, if the text was considered good and wholesome, there seems to have been an assumption that the images

²⁹ John Stubbs, *John Stubbs' "Gaping Gulf" with Letters and Other Relevant Documents*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1968).

³⁰ William White and Gabriel Simson (former apprentices of Richard Jugge) were charged with illegally printing Hugh Broughton's *A concord of scripture* (London, 1588), complete with the engravings by Jodocus Hondius; they were fined ten shillings: TRCS, II.824. The most notorious figure for such breaches of company regulations is John Wolfe, who was brought before the council on charges of copyright infringement on several occasions. In the early 1580s, Wolfe was the de facto leader of a group of renegade printers who were determined to break the copyright monopolies held by printers like Christopher Barker and Henry Bynneman. Ironically, later in the same decade Wolfe became an officer of the Stationers' Company, in the employment of Francis Walsingham: Harry R. Hoppe, "John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579–1601," *The Library*, 4th series, 14 (1933): 241–87.

³¹ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, 36. See also Milton, "Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy."

reflected these virtues. At least in terms of censorship, the image was considered to be an expression of the text it illustrated. Only in a few cases did this not hold true. The puritan *Admonition to Parliament* (c. 1572) chastised the use of images of God in the Bishops Bible. Puritans claimed the images were idolatrous; however, as we shall see in chapter five, it is just as likely that they were seeking to promote their favoured Geneva Bible.³² Third, as S. Mutchow Towers explains, the censorship mechanisms were far more rigorous in dealing with first editions than with reprints because reprints did not need a license, saving time and money.³³ Once a book had appeared on a licensed English press, even if it had been licensed before the Reformation, it was much easier to justify a reprint. Two key examples are the late-medieval liturgical and pastoral text the *Kalendar of Shepherds* and Sebastian Brant's *The Ship of Fools*. The *Kalendar* is particularly important in this regard, as it went through at least eight different editions between 1498 and 1603, five of which appeared after 1558. This loophole also served the culture of recycling print materials by allowing printed images that appeared in Catholic texts to reappear in later Protestant works. The limitations of the print trade affected the enforcement of Reformation legislation and the degree to which print was censored. In many cases, material and market demands trumped strident reform, permitting what otherwise might have been rejected.

The materiality of printed images also informs our understanding of why images disappeared and were changed over time. Scholars often assume iconoclastic motives lay behind the alteration or removal of printed images, particularly in the later Elizabethan years when censorship of Catholic texts was at its height. Certainly, we cannot deny that books were censored for their religious content. However, there are several alternative explanations specifically in connection to printed images that should not be dismissed.

First, many Protestants demonstrated a willingness to adjust or alter images rather than remove them altogether, most likely because of the value of the woodblock and the attractiveness to the potential reader.

³² I am deeply indebted to Margaret Aston for her study of whether the images of God were removed from the Bishops Bible because of Puritan admonition. However, it is clear from the discussion in chapter five of the images of God in the Geneva Bible (which were reprinted for many more years than those in the Bishops Bible), that Puritans were not completely appalled by all such representations of God.

³³ S. Mutchow Towers, *Control of Religious Printing in Early Stuart England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 10–12.

If a printed image could be salvaged, it was more likely to be kept than discarded. In one example, a pre-Reformation woodcut of Christ giving St Peter the papal keys was altered for a reprinting in 1560 for the Protestant text *An epythaphe of the godlye constant and counfortable confessor mystres Darothyne Wynnes*.³⁴ In the 1560 version, the keys, which symbolized papal authority and power, have been completely erased, so that Christ is raising an open hand to Peter. Similarly, images of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope kneeling before the Virgin were removed from a woodcut printed in the *Kalendar of Shepherds* after 1558.³⁵

Second, it is easy to mistake the deterioration of a woodblock over the course of thousands of printings for iconoclastic removal. The soft wood used for woodcutting often wore quickly, which is why making copies of original woodcuts became common practice in the European market. The diminishing number of images in English Bibles after the early well-illustrated versions of the Coverdale Bible and Great Bible may have been a result of the erosion of the woodblocks that had been imported from European master artists like Hans Holbein and Lucas Cranach.³⁶ It is unlikely that iconoclasm was the chief cause, as Elizabethan Bibles, particularly the Bishops Bible, continued to have illustrations.

Third, the lives and careers of the printers must also be taken into account when we consider why images disappeared. The print market in England endured a dearth of profit and skill in the sixteenth century. Producing images was expensive, and a well-illustrated book could either bolster or crush a printer's career. The cost of the images was transferred over to the purchase price, but for many readers who wanted to own copies of popular works like John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* the cost was too great. The popular Protestant polemicist William Turner explained in a letter to Foxe, "But of the poorer sort not a few have complained of the greatness of the price of the book." Turner suggested that the price could be reduced by removing much of the Latin text and any writings and histories of papists as well as "many things superfluous."³⁷ Timothy Bright

³⁴ McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England and Scotland*, plate 17.

³⁵ Davis, "Images on the Move," 112–14.

³⁶ A good example of the importation of woodcuts for Bibles is provided by the images used for the book of Revelation: Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603*, vol. I (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), 84–85.

³⁷ Letter from Dr. William Turner to John Fox, British Library, Harleian MS. 416, sig. 132, printed in *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, ed. Henry Christmas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1843), 491.

took this to heart and had published an abridged version, in quarto rather than folio, with only a few images. He hoped that “those ... not able to reach to the price of so great a booke” might be able to afford a smaller one.³⁸ Financial concerns rather than iconoclastic compulsions motivated this edition.

Equally important is the fact that images served as part of a printer's identity, as a business card of sorts. Since woodblocks, like other printing material, changed hands, it is understandable that these identifying images were altered accordingly. Several portions of an image of Christ as the Good Shepherd were removed from a woodcut around 1580 (plate 16). Tessa Watt has mistakenly attributed Henry Middleton's removal of an elephant and a rampant lion to iconoclasm, because they were “pagan images,” and the woodcut was often used on the titlepages of theological treatises.³⁹ The truth is that the alteration was motivated by neither religious nor aesthetic reasons.⁴⁰ Instead, the explanation is found in the history of this image, which was used by Henry Wykes in the 1560s and loaned to Ralph Newberry, Henry Middleton, George Bishop, and Thomas Woodcocke in the 1570s. Sometime after 1579, the image was permanently transferred to Henry Middleton, who became its sole printer. His removal of the elephant and lion was an attempt to dissociate the image from Wykes, whose shop was at the sign of the Black Elephant in Fleet Street. Moreover, the two stationers had always been closely linked through Wykes's master, Thomas Berthelet. As Middleton had taken up shop in Berthelet's former bookstall next door to Wykes's printing house, it is easy to see that Middleton wanted to distinguish his own work from that of the image's previous owner.⁴¹

³⁸ Timothy Bright, “To the Christian Reader,” in *An abridgement of the booke of acts and monuments* (London, 1589). For fuller details on this edition see Damian Nussbaum, “Whitgift's ‘Book of Martyrs’: Archbishop Whitgift, Timothy Bright and the Elizabethan Struggle over John Foxe's Legacy,” in *John Foxe: A Historical Perspective*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 135–53.

³⁹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 215–16.

⁴⁰ Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913), plates 153, 202, and 207.

⁴¹ *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, vol. III, first compiled by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave; revised and enlarged / begun by W.A. Jackson and F.S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976–91), 18, 124, 192.

English Printed Images: A European Tradition

In addition to censorship, the other major factor that shaped the market of English print is the European trade. In fact, printing in England at this time was often defined by international relations. After an act passed by Richard III in 1484 that exempted foreign printers from restrictions on alien workers in England, England had become a fertile field in which the European market could reap a profit. In the early sixteenth century, the greatest names of English printing were European immigrants, and these men even borrowed and copied from their European counterparts. Other printers found it lucrative to ship books to England.⁴² From 1484 to 1534, English literary appetites were sated by a regular serving of missals, breviaries, books of hours, and primers from presses in France and the Low Countries, which were distributed by foreign booksellers like Arnold Birckman in Cambridge.⁴³ Some of the most influential and active printers were from France, such as the famed Parisian printer Antoine Verard.⁴⁴ Though he published only a handful of popular English works, including the first English editions of *The Kalender of Shepherds* and *The Art of good living and dying*, Verard's influence was vast. His lavish illustrations were copied and recycled throughout the sixteenth century. Martha Driver refers to Verard as Wynkyn de Worde's "most immediate Continental source for composite images."⁴⁵

Other printers such as Frederick Egmont, Francis Regnault, and Henry Jacobi had places of business in both France and England. Jacobi, who died in 1514, worked with de Worde and Pynson. His printer's mark, which depicted three crowns representative of the Trinity, is probably the inspiration for a common printer's device found on many frontispieces.⁴⁶

⁴² For the provincial trade see E. Gordon Duff, *The English Provincial Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders to 1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912). Also, recent work has been done on monastic presses, including those at Syon Abbey, in Driver, *The Image in Print*, 140–49, and E.A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *Syon Abbey and Its Books: Reading, Writing, and Religion, c. 1400–1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010).

⁴³ McKitterick, *A History of the Cambridge University Press*, 1.29.

⁴⁴ John MacFarlane, *Antoine Verard* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1900); Mary Beth Winn, *Antoine Verard: Parisian Publisher, 1485–1512: Prologues, Poems and Presentations* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1997).

⁴⁵ Martha Driver, "The Illustrated de Worde: An Overview," *Studies in Iconography* 17 (1996): 349–403 (377). Also, Pynson's printing of the *Kalender of Sheperdes* with Verard's illustrations is significant: Luborsky and Ingram, *Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.673–74.

⁴⁶ E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1905), 42–43, 79–80, 133–34; idem., *Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476 to 1535* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 105, 108, 194–99.

Regnault was known for his excellent skill in crafting elegant combinations of text and image. His English missals, psalters, and books of hours were unmatched for quality and illustration.⁴⁷ In a letter to Thomas Cromwell, Miles Coverdale and Richard Grafton lobbied for Regnault to be exempted from Henry VIII's strict regulations on foreign printers. The prohibitions against foreigners' selling books infringed upon Regnault's long-established trade of "more than forty year" in England. This request coincided with the selection of Regnault to be the printer of Henry's Great Bible (c. 1538), the first authorized English version of the Bible, and it may be that one of Regnault's stipulations was that he be given rights to sell books in England.⁴⁸

Andrew Pettegree's assertion that without this European influence the English trade "would have been throttled at birth" is probably correct.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, however, this foreign influence has often led scholars to diminish the character and vibrancy of the print trade, deeming it incredibly backward and second rate. This stance is only magnified when printed images are examined, as very few images, and usually those of the poorest quality, originated from English artisans and printers. Anthony Wells-Cole goes so far as to describe any English image as a "perversity" for "so many prints made in the country" had European influences or were of European origin.⁵⁰ Not only are such assessments anachronistic, they also treat these images as merely aesthetic expressions and visual representations of art history. In strictly labelling images either European or English—and in berating the lower quality reproduction and recycling of the latter—scholars fail to appreciate the market and material of printed images.⁵¹ Moreover, they do not acknowledge that while the English trade relied upon Europe, European printing benefitted from its ties with England. English readers enlarged the demand for European printing stock, in Latin

⁴⁷ Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240–1570* (London: Yale University Press, 2006), ch. 8.

⁴⁸ *The Remains of Miles Coverdale*, ed. George Pearson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), 495; Duff, *Printers, Stationers, and Booksellers*, 207–9. For more on Henry VIII's tightening of the restrictions on foreigners see Frederick Seaton Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476–1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 30–40.

⁴⁹ Pettegree, "Printing and the English Reformation," 163.

⁵⁰ Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 125.

⁵¹ Foxe's *Actes and monuments* is the prime example of this, as its excellent and extensive illustrations were influenced and produced mainly, if not completely, by Dutch artisans hired by John Day: Elizabeth Evenden, "The Fleeing Dutchmen? The Influence of Dutch Immigrants upon the Print Shop of John Day," in *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, ed. David Loades (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 63–77.

and French books, and England provided dozens of European stationers with a useful religious and economic haven.

The main example of this interdependence is provided by the many Dutch immigrants working for John Day (or Daye) on John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* in the 1560s.⁵² Day's access to the Dutch artisans was built upon a long tradition of association between England and Europe, which proved beneficial for both. Despite religious fluctuations and tightening constraints in Henry VIII's reign, many European books, printing materials, and craftsmen found their way into the English market when the religious climate in continental countries proved dangerous. Stephen Kevall from Calais was denized in London in 1535. The Dutch reformer Walter Lynne, who was responsible for several illustrated books and probably helped Cranmer with the 1548 English catechism, which was derived mostly from Luther's works, was in London by 1540. The stationer who compiled Holinshed's chronicles, Reinar Wolfe, moved from Strasbourg to London in 1533.⁵³ We must not neglect the increasing number of second-generation foreign stationers and immigrants who retained their connections with Europe and oftentimes inherited materials from family members and masters. Also, foreigners who had established themselves in England permanently, like Reinar Wolfe, maintained a steady business with Europe. Wolfe, one of Cranmer's favourite printers, did business each year with the prolific Zurich printer Christoph Froschauer at the Frankfurt book fair.⁵⁴

By the end of the 1540s, a tradition of international printing had been established. One of the most important and influential additions to the print trade on the eve of Edward VI's reign was the immigration of the Dutch printer Stephen Mierdman in 1546/7. While a prolific stationer in his own right, Mierdman was also the apprentice and brother-in-law of Antwerp printer Matthias Crom and carried a portion of Crom's stock with him to England.⁵⁵ This material included many woodcuts that had already appeared in the Coverdale Bible (c. 1537) and would be reused in other

⁵² The academic community owes a great debt of gratitude to Elizabeth Evenden for her study of Day's connections to the European trade in *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁵³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 386–87; Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 95–96, 171–72. For Wolfe see Andrew Pettegree, "Wolfe, Reyner (d. in or before 1574)," ODNB.

⁵⁴ McKitterick, *A History of the Cambridge University Press*, I.49; MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 176.

⁵⁵ Willem Heijting, "Mierdman, Steven [Niclaes van Oldenborch] (1510x12–1559)," ODNB.

English books printed by Mierdman, Richard Harrison, Richard Jugge, and Christopher Barker as late as 1578.⁵⁶ It seems that when Mierdman returned to the Low Countries in 1553, he was forced to leave behind his entire stock of printing materials, which was forfeited to the royal printers Richard Jugge, who would soon follow Mierdman to the Low Countries, and John Cawood. As the royal printers held the copyrights on the printing of the official English Bibles, it is logical that the woodcuts passed to Christopher Barker when he assumed the post as Elizabeth's printer after Jugge and Cawood died.⁵⁷ The cuts that originated with Matthias Crom in Antwerp, which were copies of earlier works, became a part of English culture and continued to be printed during the Elizabethan period. A similar transfer of woodcuts and other materials followed the death of de Worde.⁵⁸ That de Worde's woodcuts were among the most widespread in England before 1560 is in no small part due to the reuse of his materials by popular printers like Edward Whitchurch. Books originally printed in the 1560s could still be found in bookstalls decades into the reign of Queen Elizabeth, so that even many years after certain images had been printed for the last time, they continued to be available to new readers.⁵⁹

The European connection would become vital to English Catholics after 1560, when much of their printing was done in Rouen, Antwerp, Louvain, and later, Saint-Omer. At times England was a safe haven for many printers, as well as other professionals and day labourers, fleeing religious persecution in Europe. In the 1550s, however, during the reign of Queen Mary, English reformers fled to the continent. During the few years from 1553 until the end of 1558 many English Protestants became acquainted not only with centres of European reform but also with many leading printers. Ten Englishmen lived and worked at Froschauer's shop in Zurich. John Day's former partner Richard Jugge worked in the Emden shop of Egidius van der Erve. Others found their way to Strasbourg and Geneva.⁶⁰ In the 1560s, Protestants from the

⁵⁶ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I, 96.

⁵⁷ Richard Harrison's connection with the woodcuts seems to be through Cawood, who may have given Harrison the right to print the 1562 Great Bible (the only time he used the cuts). Cawood printed with cuts from the Coverdale Bible and from the 1562 Bible in a New Testament translation: *The newe testament [Bishops version]* (London: J. Cawood, 1569). See Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I, 121.

⁵⁸ Davis, "Images on the Move," 111.

⁵⁹ At Henry Bynnenman's death, in 1583, several of the books recorded in his stock dated back almost twenty years: Mark Eccles, "Bynnenman's Books," *The Library*, 5th series, 12 (1957): 81–92.

⁶⁰ Christina Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938 [reprint 1966]), 9, 202.

Low Countries and Huguenots from France reversed the process by fleeing to England. The most influential group of immigrants in the Elizabethan print trade was Dutch. Several Dutchmen like Thomas Gemini and John Betts worked with the prominent printing houses in London.⁶¹ Protestant artists like Giles Godet and Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder published several works individually and were also employed by London stationers for their artistic talents in woodcutting and engraving.⁶² While less prolific than Godet, Gheeraerts was likely responsible for many woodcuts printed by John Day, including the 39 images in *A christall glasse of Christian reformation* (c. 1569).⁶³ A large haul of French stationers escaped to the English capital in the 1570s and 1580s. The London bookseller Jan Desserans and the exiled Huguenot printer Thomas Vautrollier had a strong partnership that produced several illustrated works. Also, both Vautrollier and Desserans had lucrative connections to the Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin, who was encouraged by Desserans to print books that were easy to sell in England.⁶⁴ Though Plantin printed mostly in Latin and French, he did have a few books in English, and many of his illustrations, or copies of them, found their way into English titles. The London printer Thomas Purfoote even purchased 250 woodblocks from Plantin.⁶⁵

The English market was not always on the receiving end of printing materials. On rare occasions, late-sixteenth-century English images proved useful to European printers. While the early sixteenth century saw

⁶¹ Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 149–85; Evenden, “The Fleeing Dutchmen?,” 63–77; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, ch. 5; Colin Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London: Cassell, 1960), 197–210.

⁶² Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 181–91.

⁶³ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.37. For the fullest analyses of Gheeraerts work see Edward Hodnett, *Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder of Bruges, London, and Antwerp* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1971) and Erin Lynnette Webster, “Marcus Gheerhaerts the Elder and the Language of Art: Images with Text in the Elizabethan Renaissance,” (PhD thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1999).

⁶⁴ Lisa Parmelee, *Good News from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1996), 11–26; Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, 209; Colin Clair, “Thomas Vautrollier,” *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 35 (1960): 223–28. Vautrollier, though known for his printing of Thomas Norton's translation of Calvin's *Institutes*, was also a popular figure in Scottish printing. His printing of John Knox's *History of the Reformation* was seized by John Whitgift as a violation of printing regulations: Clair, “Thomas Vautrollier,” 226–27.

⁶⁵ Clair, *Christopher Plantin*, 118; Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden, Indices* (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1983), 259.

no English woodcutters or engravers of any lasting repute, later in the century some like Nicholas Hilliard gained a reputation for their skills.⁶⁶ Thomas Cockson's engravings for John Harrington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* (c. 1591) are copied from Girolamo Porro's plates in the Italian edition. Harrington claimed that Cockson's engravings were finer than any "that has bene in this land this manie yeares." Apparently, they were of such good quality that they were inserted into later Italian editions of *Orlando Furioso* printed in Venice.⁶⁷

It is impossible to deny that the majority of printed images to appear in England were in some way, if not entirely, influenced by the work of European hands. Not only did images and texts often originate in Europe, but several English stationers and authors owed much of their careers to relationships with Europe. That it was not an Englishman who created the image, nor even an Englishman who printed the image, had no impact on the reception of that image. The disappointment often expressed in England's inability to match its continental counterparts can distract from the impact the print industry had upon English religious identity. The fact that religious adherents across national and doctrinal borders were reading similar texts and images is germane. Rather than bemoaning the backwardness of England's industry, we will find it more helpful to ask how that trade developed around and through these interconnections with European print and religious change.

Moving Images in the Marketplace

Perhaps the most important characteristic of the English trade was its adaptability and willingness to conserve and reuse whatever materials it could. John King is correct when he asserts, "English Protestants not only preserved books that contained old-fashioned devotional images, but they engaged in the illustration of books on the model of German Lutheran and other Northern European publications."⁶⁸ However, English printers'

⁶⁶ Others include William Rogers, Richard Lyne, and Martin Droeshout (who was born in Brussels but immigrated to England when he was four years old): *A Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages down to the Death of William Faithorne, 1691*, compiled by A.F. Johnson (London: Bibliographical Society, 1934). Hilliard's engravings appeared on the titlepage of John Calvin, *Sermons of Master John Calvin, upon the booke of Job* (London, 1574).

⁶⁷ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I:30; David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order*, 90.

⁶⁸ King, *Foxe's "Book of martyrs,"* 162.

methods and results were different from those of their European counterparts. In Europe, once a woodcut had been used, it “simply joined the lumber of the printshop.”⁶⁹ This was not the case in England, where stationers became adept at recycling and reusing images in various texts across a long period. On the one hand, this process is merely another example of the backwardness of the English trade, but on the other hand, it is a unique characteristic of English illustrated print. It was an innovative solution to a serious market shortfall.⁷⁰ Reuse and recycling became one of the most formative characteristics of English print and came to dominate the visual culture.

A single image or series of images was rarely permanently rooted in a single text or even context. Images were re-contextualized and deployed in various works, seemingly at will, without any danger of distraction or confusion on the reader's part. Images traversed time, sometimes decades, as well as confessional boundaries, often more than once, to appear in both Catholic and Protestant works. As we have seen, particularly when an image changed hands, it could be put to use in a context completely different from its original purpose. When we examine a printed image from the period, we are not looking at the illustration of one single text but of many texts.⁷¹ This polymorphous trait of the English printed image suggests continuity and congruity within the printed visual culture of the period, as images seen in the reign of Henry VIII could potentially be read by Protestants in the 1570s or even by Catholics in the 1590s. This suggests a flexibility in the sign/signifier relationship that is alien to the modern market of advertising and product recognition.

Although later chapters demonstrate the depths of recycling and how that reuse shaped religious identity, it is worthwhile to sketch some examples here briefly, in order to grasp its scope. Originally non-religious images were as equally likely to be recycled as religious ones. The popular science-writer Thomas Hill's physiological discourse *The contemplation of mankind* (c. 1571) was printed by William Seres with 49 woodcuts. Several stationers recycled these images in the 1580s and 1590s for at least thirteen different works that included the puritan text *The anatomie of abuses* (c. 1583) by Philip Stubbes, pamphlets attacking treason like *A most joyfull*

⁶⁹ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 121.

⁷⁰ I am greatly indebted to the late Ruth Luborsky for her ground-breaking ideas on this topic: “Connections and Disconnections between Images and Texts: The Case of the Secular Tudor Book Illustration,” *Word and Image* 3 (1987): 74–83.

⁷¹ Driver, *The Image in Print*, 3, 75.

songe (c. 1586), and three editions of Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*.⁷² Likewise, the 62 woodcuts printed by Henry Bynneman in the English translation of Pierre Boaistuau's judgment book *Certaine secrete wonders of nature* (c. 1569) were recycled by Ralph Newberry, John Wolfe, and Abel Jeffes in other judgment books, a work on cony-catching, and a broadside ballad on the death of certain judges in Lincolnshire.⁷³

The field of religious printed images presents a similar picture. An engraved portrait of John the Evangelist by the French artist Jakob Faber first appeared in England in the Protestant text *A declaracion of the seremonies ... to the sacrament of baptyme* (c. 1537), printed by Thomas Gibson. Gibson used it another time, in 1538 in a New Testament. The image then appeared in no less than nine publications, by John Day, William Seres, and Stephen Mierdman, between 1547 and 1557, including three Edwardian Bibles and a Marian Latin primer. A late-fifteenth-century woodcut of the crucifixion was printed repeatedly by Richard Pynson and others in books of hours, the works of St Bonaventure, and other pre-Reformation texts. It subsequently appeared in reformed works like Francois Lambert's *The summe of christianitie* (c. 1536) and then in the traditional *Kalendar of Shepherds* (c. 1570).⁷⁴ The image of Christ Triumphant was used in a variety of texts, where it sometimes had little in common with the words on the page. Originally created for John Day's publication of John Foxe's *Christ Jesus Triumphant* (c. 1579), the image of Christ standing over death and the serpent was recycled into more than a dozen different editions of various works before 1603, most often printed by John Windet.⁷⁵ In another example connected to Day, a frontispiece depicting King David and Moses with cherubs and satyrs above and below first appeared in *The rule of reason* (c. 1563) and was printed by John Kingston. It was reprinted 36 more times before 1612. The woodcut seems to have been in the joint possession of Kingston and Day until 1585, used only once by Thomas Purfoote, in 1581.⁷⁶

⁷² Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.445.

⁷³ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.235.

⁷⁴ Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), plate 1475.

⁷⁵ John Foxe, *Christ Jesus Triumphant* (London, 1578); McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices*, plate 202. McKerrow has a listing of five works between 1579 and 1603; I have discovered twenty in total: see the Appendix.

⁷⁶ McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England and Scotland*, 102–4. As for the connection between Day and Kingston, it is known that Kingston was freed from the Grocer's company by Richard Grafton, a good friend of Day's, in the mid 1540s. If Day and Grafton were working closely together, it is likely Kingston and Day would have met and perhaps even worked together: Evenden, "The Fleeing Dutchmen?," 67–68.

The recycling of images lent itself to sustaining, if only for a brief period, expressions of religion that were no longer in the mainstream in England. The Lutheran catechism by Cornelius van der Heyden, *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble*, was printed by Anthony Scoloker in 1549 with 28 woodcuts of biblical and contemporary scenes created by Dutch artist Lieven de Witte. In the same year, William Seres used seven of the images in a treatise by Reformed theologian Pierre Viret, and Scoloker produced other Lutheran works with the images. Subsequently, nine woodcuts appeared in the 1560s for a reprinting of *A bryefe summe* (c. 1568), and five found their way into David Lindsay's humanist text *Dialogue between experience and a coutier* (c. 1566). The Lutheran characteristics of the catechism and of its reprints in Edwardian and Elizabethan England make it a curious book in terms of religious identity.⁷⁷ Alec Ryrie has argued that English Lutheranism was effectively suffocated by events at the end of Henry VIII's reign, and other than Scoloker's books, there is little to suggest otherwise. While this example might have been simply a result of easy access to materials at hand and a means to make money with little expense, the printing of Lutheran texts almost a decade into Elizabeth's reign suggests a continued Lutheran sentiment among some English Protestants.⁷⁸

Lutheran works were not the only ones sustained by recycling and reprinting. The traditional devotional model of a prayer surrounded by border illustrations—popularized in books of hours—was not uncommon in Reformation print. Protestants demonstrated a strong proclivity to reformulating and re-contextualizing traditional prayer books.⁷⁹ Richard Day's *Christian prayers and meditations* (c. 1569) is the best-illustrated example of this, along with *Certain select prayers* (c. 1574), a printing of popular prayers undertaken by Day's father, John Day. Both works were heavily influenced by early sixteenth-century Catholic images printed by Antoine Verard. Like the Catholic books, both of the Day prayer books employ a series of border woodcuts, which frame the somewhat formulaic prayers. Also, in *Christian prayers and meditations*, the frontispiece is of

⁷⁷ Cornelius van der Heyden, *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble* (London, 1568); Andrew Johnston, "Lutheranism in Disguise: The Corte Instruccye of Cornelius van der Heyden," *Dutch Review of Church History* 63 (1998): 23–29.

⁷⁸ Alec Ryrie, "The Strange Death of Lutheran England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002): 64–92.

⁷⁹ Helen White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979); Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 171–79.

the Tree of Jesse, which leads to an image of the Virgin with the Christ Child, a clear allusion to older books of hours.⁸⁰

Even more interesting in terms of religious identity was the survival and increasing popularity of the *Kalendar of Shepherds*. Contrasting quite drastically with Edmund Spenser's poetic work of a similar title, the *Kalendar* was a mosaic work of Catholic liturgy, prayers to the Virgin, discourses on the seven deadly sins, and lunar and zodiac calendars.⁸¹ Three distinct series of woodcuts were produced for the text between 1495 and 1520, and various combinations of these images were used in every subsequent edition until the early seventeenth century. The 1556 edition, printed by William Powell, was sold with 101 woodcuts, intended for "the basic task of catechesis" for the young Marian church.⁸² Six more editions of the *Kalendar* were printed before Elizabeth's death in 1603, making it one of the most popular illustrated books on the market, outstripping Foxe's *Acts and monuments* in number of editions in the same period.

Conclusion

One of the most intriguing traits of the Reformation was its intentional conservation of many things medieval. Archbishop Matthew Parker built up an entire library of medieval manuscripts rescued from the dissolution of the monasteries, which he intended to use to further the Reformation. One of his librarians, Stephen Batman, explained the reasoning behind the conservation of so many Catholic books and manuscripts,

⁸⁰ Richard Day, *Christian prayers and meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Latine* (London, 1569), and Richard Day, *A booke of Christian prayers out of the auncient writers* (London, 1578). For Day's frontispiece, see McKerrrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England and Scotland*, no. 128. For the Verard image, see MacFarlane, *Antoine Verard*, plate 52. The Tree of Jesse increased in popularity during the eleventh century, and it subsequently appeared in a wide array of manuscripts and on church walls, baptisteries, and windows throughout the medieval period: Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934).

⁸¹ Martha Driver, "Pictures in Print: Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century English Religious Books for Lay Readers," in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 229–44; Martha Driver, "When is Miscellany not Miscellaneous? Making Sense of the 'Kalender of Shepherds,'" *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 199–221.

⁸² Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 83.

he is no wyse man. yt for the haveng of spiders, Scorpions, or any outhen noysom thinge in his howse will therefore set the whole howse on fier: for by that meanes, he disfornisheth himselfe of his howse: and so doo men by rashe borneng of ancient Recordes lose the knoweldege of muche learnenge / there be meanes and wayes, to presarve the good corne by gathering oute the wedes.⁸³

This statement would serve equally well to describe the practices of the English print trade during the Reformation. Because of the limited resources, woodcuts were widely recycled by printers in England and were reused in various texts. Whether by necessity or convenience, or perhaps both, it was often rare for an image to be used only once. Furthermore, we should not fall into the assumption that a reader or a printer believed everything that was printed. Nor should we assume an either/or paradigm—either universal praise or complete condemnation. Many illustrations existed in a netherworld of general condemnation of their subject while being printed without censure.

Both the creation of the images and their reception in early modern society has something to offer historians. As this chapter has explained, the culture of readership played an important role in both the survival and the reception of the text. Printed material was not a fixed object when it left the press or even after it was bound, because books could be rebound and bound with other texts. The influence of the reader offers important signs of how an image was received and read. Additionally, we must not forget that these images were objects in themselves, separate from the text. Their relationship to the text as illustration and decoration did not define the images absolutely. Much like letter type, binding, paper, and other materials, these images existed as both matter and media. Subsequent chapters will demonstrate that these images were a type of text, an adaptable and resilient one, which found a degree of acceptability in the midst of the Reformation.

⁸³ Trinity College Library (Cambridge), MS. B.14.19 (305), fol. 67v. Cited in M.B. Parkes, "Stephen Batman's Manuscripts," in *Medieval Heritage: Essays in Honour of Tdahiho Ikegami*, ed. Masahiko Kanno et al. (Tokyo: Yushodo Press, 1997), 143.

CHAPTER TWO

PRINTED IMAGES AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

The comparatively anaemic nature of the English printing trade in part explains the need to reproduce and recycle images on a large scale. England's printers lacked the manpower and materials to continually create new images. What this does not explain, however, is the continued prevalence and popularity of so many religious images in a religious culture that was seemingly antagonistic to visual religion. If Protestants were stirred to violence by the sight of images, why were printers intent upon producing images, even despite the trade's serious limitations? This chapter problematizes the relationship between printed images and Protestant theology.¹ It suggests that Reformation theology was not nearly as absolute in its animosity towards religious images as is often assumed and that the Reformation in England provided a legitimate, though not unbounded, space for visual religion. Protestant theology condemned idolatry, but Protestant religious identity continued to advance the important role of pictures.

Iconoclasm and Protestant Adiaphora

In the previous chapter, we saw how the state and evolution of the English printing trade affected the development of printed images. Reasons for the retention, importation, recycling, and creation of images were diverse, ranging from materialistic need and potential financial gain to political affiliation and religious devotion. Religion played a dual role in the lives of early modern images. It was an inspiration, but it was also an arbiter of visual propriety. The tension that such a duality produced is evident throughout Reformation culture. In 1577, a servant of the Catholic

¹ Recent works that have deepened our understanding of the relationship between Reformed theology and visual representation include: Tara Hamling and Richard Williams, eds., *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008); Randall Zachman, *Image and Word in the Theology of John Calvin* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007); Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).

gentleman Thomas Copley was arrested because the Queen's officials could not stand "the sight of a picture" he was carrying to his master in Europe.² Five years later, Sir Francis Walsingham received a letter from the artist John de Critz explaining that de Critz was sending several paintings to Queen Elizabeth's principal secretary, including a portrait of St John. Why was one private picture confiscated while others were allowed to grace Protestant homes and chapels? Where was the line between idolatry and image? Walsingham was not the only prominent Protestant figure to enjoy such overt religious visual culture.³ Elizabeth's own chapel became well known for its golden cross, which the Queen adamantly refused to remove. Likewise, James I had his Holyrood chapel decorated with gilded pictures of the apostles and patriarchs.⁴

There are no precise, well-developed answers, as pressing as they may seem to us. On paper, the continued prevalence in Reformation England of any religiously oriented images seems counterintuitive. Henry VIII's 1538 injunctions limited image reverence, targeting pilgrimages and images of St Thomas Becket in particular. In 1547, young Edward VI's injunctions denounced all devotional images, using language that would be adopted by his sister Elizabeth:

Take away, utterly extinct, and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candle-sticks, trindals, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere with their churches and houses, preserving nevertheless or repairing both the walls and glass windows. And they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.⁵

Under Protestant monarchs, in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth, the "minor epidemic" of iconoclasm of the early 1530s achieved pandemic proportions and became a commonplace of English reformed religion.⁶ Injunctions legitimated destruction on a mass scale, inadvertently instituting a sort of devotional expression via iconoclasm. The defacing and

² CSPD, 489.

³ CSPD, 77–78.

⁴ John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 141.

⁵ VAI, II.34–43, 126. I want to avoid travelling too much across this already trodden ground. For in-depth analysis of the destruction and official injunctions against images see Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, vol. I: *Laws against Images* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁶ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 381.

annihilation of images became a way for reformers, and Catholics from time to time, to identify with and violently promote true religion.⁷ Interestingly, printed images were often spared the iconoclast's rage, even though illustrations were named in the injunctions against idols. Bishop John Parkhurst specifically pointed to printed images among other popish objects:

Whether all altars, images, holy water stones, pictures, paintings—as the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, of the descending Christ into the Virgin in the form of a little boy at the Annunciation of the Angel, and all other superstitious and dangerous monuments; especially paintings and images in wall, book, cope, banner, or elsewhere, of the Blessed Trinity or of the Father (of whom there can be no image made), be defaced and removed out of the church and other places and are destroyed.⁸

Parkhurst's wording is more precise and selective than that of other injunctions of the period; even his condemnation of images is, however, by no means total. Parkhurst identified specific subjects in particular locations as idolatrous, and such specifications were not commonly overridden by his officials. The language constructs a degree of ambiguity towards many images, and it reveals the complexities surrounding Protestant views of visual imagery. There was certainly an attack on traditional Catholic books of worship (i.e. books of hours), but most other printed material existed precariously in an ill-defined relationship to the law. Though the injunctions condemned "all ... pictures" in books and elsewhere of the Trinity and other scenes, there never were any charges brought for printing such images in England, even though they continued to be printed in Protestant books that were licensed by the state.

Certainly, no one can accuse the English Protestants of lacking fervour or resolve. As early as 1538, Thomas Cromwell provided official affirmation of iconoclasm by burning several images on the same pyre as the convicted heretic John Forest. These idols were as dangerous as false teachers. Less dramatic but nevertheless forceful acts were inflicted upon public and private images throughout the rest of the century. Readers could be equally unkind to printed images. The private individual could be surprisingly imaginative and at times destructive in the treatment of images.⁹

⁷ The best work on this topic is Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2004).

⁸ VAI, III.90.

⁹ William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People*

Eamon Duffy has identified instances of readers attacking books of hours, with images of the Pope and saints the most common targets. Oftentimes, the attack consisted of a simple “X” being drawn through the offending portion of text. At least one Crucifixion scene, from a 1545 Sarum primer, was coloured over in black ink that completely erased the image.¹⁰ While such destruction is alluring to the scholar of iconoclasm, enduring marks of effacement can be traced only to a small minority of religious printed images that either survived into the English Reformation or were printed within Protestant England. In many examples of readers’ censorship, it is the text rather than the image that is attacked, and more often than not the reader seems to intentionally avoid damaging the image. This is true even of the many books of hours from 1500 to 1530, which were heavily illustrated by French woodcuts. This fact and the number of surviving religious images suggest a much more complicated perspective on visual religion in the English Reformation.

Although in theory reformers were united against idols, the uncertainty evident in the Protestant injunctions also plagued their theology. From the beginning of the Reformation, images were as much a bone of contention as a rallying banner for zealous Protestantism. Martin Luther condemned radical reformers like Andreas Karlstadt in Wittenberg for destroying images *in toto*, without any regard for the usefulness of some. In 1550, the English gentleman and Protestant patron Sir Christopher Hales requested portraits of several leading Protestants for his private collection. Several reformers, however, were suspicious of Hales’s intent. Even the pastorally minded Heinrich Bullinger expressed discomfort at the idea. In the end, Hales obtained most of the portraits, but not without more than a little wrangling and only after having given assurances that the portraits would not be revered indecorously.¹¹ Decades later, in a similar event, the leading Genevan reformer Theodore Beza was harshly criticized for his book *Icones* (c. 1581), which featured printed images of Protestant reformers that Beza intended as memorials. Such examples highlight the most public clashes between the reformed animosity towards idols and the use

and their Prayers, 1240–1570 (London: Yale University Press, 2006), 152–70; Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 110–20.

¹⁰ *This prymer of Salysbury use is set out a longe without anye searchynge with many prayers* (London, 1545), sig. K8v.

¹¹ Letter 100, “Christophe Hales to Henry Bullinger, June 12, 1550,” in *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, vol. I, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1846), 188–89.

of religiously oriented images. It was one thing to call Catholics idolaters for their icons, but few Protestants condemned all images.

When confronted by Catholic criticism of their use of images, Protestants either scoffed or refused to engage their accusers. John Foxe mocked the idea that printed images could be idols, saying, "If ye did see any printer yet to do worship to his graven letters, then might you well seke thus (as ye do) a knotte in a rush."¹² The tradition of iconoclasm in England did not lend itself to iconophobia. Nor, as we shall see, did those continental reformers popular in England teach an iconophobic theology. For all of the talk of abolishing idolatry and ridding churches of corrupt images, it is clear from what survived that reformers intended to carve out a place for images within early modern religious practice. Given the fact that many Protestants' first instinct was to eliminate idols, not all images, it is astounding to discover how often they attended to the defence of images and sought to clarify the boundaries within which religious images were acceptable. In order to understand the specific impact of images on Reformation belief and identity, it is crucial that we explore the categories and language that Protestants employed when discussing images.

The iconoclastic impulse was not foreign to England before the Reformation. The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Lollards—influenced by the writings of John Wyclif—vehemently condemned the worship of images. Lollards were among the first groups to argue that the category of idolatry included more than representations of things that did not actually exist, such as pagan deities. The Lollards' definition of an idol hinged upon how the image was treated and used. One Lollard sermon explained that the vain décor adorning many Catholic images was "an opyn errorr agenst Christis gospel," for it "taughten that Christ was naylid on the crosse with thus myche gold and silver and precious clothis, as a breeche of gold ententid with perry, and schoon of silver and croune fretted ful of precious jewelis."¹³ Images of religious figures were not the crux of the matter.

¹² John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* [...] (1570), 752, www.johnfoxe.org. The phrase "seeking a knot in a rush" was in widespread use in Reformation discourse. Its basic meaning was "seeking for something that does not exist": E. Cobham Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, vol. I (London: Cassell, 1895), 717. Other texts of the period that employed the phrase to describe Catholic attacks include John Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion* (London, 1561), 501; William Fulke, *Two treatises written against the papistes* (London, 1576), 256; William Perkins, *A godlie and learned exposition upon the whole epistle of Iude* (London, 1606), 87.

¹³ Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 164–65; G.R. Owst, *Preaching in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 144; Maureen Jurkowski, "Lollardy in

Rather, it was the efforts and energies wasted on pilgrimage devotion and gaudy decoration that transformed the image into an idol. The popular Lollard treatise *The Lanterne of Light* advanced this argument with more clarity by pointing a finger at the image manufacturers:

The peyntour makith an ymage forged with diverse colours til it seme in foolis eyes as a lyveli creature. This is sett in the chirche, in a solemne place, fast bounden with boondis, for it schulde nat falle. Prestis of the temple big-ilen the peple with the foule synne of Balaam in her open preching.¹⁴

The “peyntour” intentionally devised a temptation, and the priest promoted the false worship of this temptation in his preaching.

Although English reformers were not direct spiritual descendants of the Lollards, the Reformation echoed Lollard beliefs about idolatry. Reformers embraced the Lollard definition of an idol as well as the Lollard accusation that an idol harmed the larger community. The assault on Catholic icons claimed that image abuse was a form of social injustice, for it stripped money and charitable contributions away from the poor and needy.¹⁵ The early Elizabethan homilies condemned idolatry because the poor

commended to us so tenderlye by our Saviour Christ, as moste deare to hym ... shyveryng for colde, and theyr teeth chattering in theyr heades, and no man covereth them, are pined with hunger and thirst, and no man geveth them a peny to refreshe them, where as poundes be redy at all tymes to decke and trymme dead stockes and stones, whiche neyther feele colde, hunger, ne thirst.¹⁶

This provided the Reformation with something of a socio-political category into which to fit their position on idolatry. It focused attention away from the question of the images themselves and towards popish abuses of material objects at the expense of true religion.

Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire: The Two Thomas Compworths,” in *Lollards and Their Influence in Late Medieval England*, eds. Fiona Somerset, Jill C. Havens, and Derrick G. Pitard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 77, 91.

¹⁴ *Lanterne of Light*, ed. L.M. Swinburn [o.s. no. 115] (London: Early English Text Society, 1917), 84.

¹⁵ Lee Palmer Wandel, *Always Among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli's Zurich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 100–101, 177; Carlos Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), ch. 4.

¹⁶ Anon., “An homilie against perill of Idolatrie, and superstitious decking of Churches,” in *Certaine Sermons or HOMILIES Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547–1571)*, facsimile eds. Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1968), sig. 2G1v.

More importantly, the English Reformation reiterated the Lollard position that not all images reeked of idolatry. Across the sixteenth century, most reformers made room for visual images, although the extent of their approval varied. Understanding how this permissive sentiment evolved and was worked out in Protestant thought is crucial to grasping the significance of religious imagery in the Reformation.

The earliest English reformers displayed the tension between idols and images. In his rancorous debates with Sir Thomas More, William Tyndale approved of the religious use of images in certain contexts:

If (for an exsample) I ... make a little crosse therof and beare it about me / to loke theron with a repentinge hert ... to put me in remembraunce that the body of Christ was broken and his bloud shed theron / for my sinnes ... then it serveth me ... as yf I red ye testament in a booke / or as iff the preacher preached it unto me.¹⁷

Such statements were not uncommon among English reformers of the 1520s and 1530s. They emanated from the broader religious principle of *adiaphora*, or things indifferent, a vital component of reformed thought. Images were acknowledged as tools for devotion as legitimate as sermons and scripture readings. Similarly, Martin Luther criticized his former friend and university colleague Andreas Karlstadt for his iconophobia, saying, "On the subject of images, we saw that they ought to be abolished when they are worshipped ... Nevertheless, we cannot and ought not to condemn a thing which may be in any way useful to a person."¹⁸ In his much discussed treatise "Against the Heavenly Prophets," Luther argued that Protestants should aim "to instruct and enlighten the conscience that it is idolatry to worship them, ... Beyond this let the external matters take their course. God grant that they may be destroyed, become dilapidated, or that they remain. It is all the same difference, just as when the poison has been removed from the snake."¹⁹ Luther was by no means apathetic. Rather, he wanted to address the source of idolatry, not just its symptoms. Simply to remove or destroy the object would be like throwing a poisonous snake back into the tall grass, where it might go unseen. The problem with Karlstadt's method—total destruction—is that it led,

¹⁷ William Tyndale, *An answer unto Sir Thomas Mores dialogue* (Antwerp, 1531), sigs. E3v–E4r.

¹⁸ Martin Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets," in *Eight Sermons at Wittenberg, 1522*, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 51, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955–76), 84.

¹⁹ Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets," 91.

Luther believed, to greater and more pernicious forms of mental and spiritual idolatry, namely pride and legalism.²⁰

The message of *adiaphora* exemplified by Luther and Tyndale was only a single viewpoint in the Reformation. Karlstadt's response, at the opposite end of the spectrum, was echoed by puritans like the firebrand preacher William Bradshaw, who boldly asserted, "nothing is in it selfe indifferent." Many puritans came to see everything, whether in scripture or elsewhere, to possess a moral value that was intrinsic to the thing itself.²¹ Certain things were pure enough for religious use and others were not.

Reformed Theology and Boundaries of Acceptability

The reformed movements in France, Switzerland, and the Low Countries expressed a form of *adiaphora*, though one that was not nearly as tolerant as that of Luther and Tyndale. Strasbourg preacher Martin Bucer recognized the difficulties with Luther's message. In the influential English translation *A treatise declaring and showing images are not to be suffered in churches*, Bucer explained,

But syth it is so that in churches every were / ymages are honoured / and namely roodes. It is nat possible though thou prech never so ofte / nor never so earnestly unto the people / that ymages are nat to be honoured: buth that there wyll be some / which wyll hold on styl to put of their capes ... and make curtesye to them.²²

Calvin agreed, infamously arguing that the human mind was a "forge" of idols and that it was impossible to cleanse it completely.²³ Although Calvin would probably have agreed with Luther and Tyndale about the moral indifference of a block of wood, a canvas, or a stone slab, he was much more suspicious about human intent. Using visual images in the

²⁰ Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets," 81, 99–100. Koerner has described this potential hazard saying that by "desecrating the sacred icon, exhibiting it not as object but as abject, they release a strange, transgressive power." This power could exhibit itself as a violent devotion, becoming no less a source of idolatry than Catholic objects, and as such would also need to be removed: Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 105.

²¹ William Bradshaw, *A Treatise of the nature and use of things indifferent* (London, 1605), sig. A4v.

²² Martin Bucer, *A treatise declaring and showing that images are not to be suffered in churches*, trans. W. Marshall from the Latin, trans. J. Bedrote (London, 1535), sigs. C1r, C4r.

²³ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845; revised edition Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 41.

context of reverence and devotion raised too many mixed messages and associations with traditional Catholicism. Because the people were naturally predisposed to idolatry and had been steeped in a religious culture that promoted the worship of icons, the use of images in churches, regardless of the motivation, was too dangerous.

Yet Calvin and Bucer did not condemn visual images, or even religious representations, wholesale. *Adiaphora* as a useful category for describing images had not been abandoned, though it was fraught with ambiguities. It needed definitions and limitations establishing what images would be permitted. Among these boundaries, most importantly as Bucer's title stipulates, images were banished from churches. In England, the influence of this requirement is most apparent in the early Edwardian years (c. 1547–49), when officials carried out a systematic cleansing of the churches. Church images no longer qualified as *adiaphora*, because it was held that any religious image in a church was *ipso facto* an object of worship. This belief was reinforced by the notion that idols only emerged in the early Christian church when "secretly and by stealth" images were allowed "to creepe out" of private homes and into churches, through a lengthy process of moral degradation that eventually led to the corruption of Catholicism.²⁴ Protestants saw themselves as returning to the purer standard that had been upheld before this incursion.

Other aspects of *adiaphora* were not nearly as apparent. During the Vestarian Controversy in 1550, John Hooper and Nicholas Ridley vehemently disagreed over what qualified as *adiaphora* in terms of the priest's dress.²⁵ A few years later, during the reign of Queen Mary, English Protestant exiles were equally at odds over the contours of *adiaphora*. In their famous disputes, Ridley and John Knox "severely narrowed the range of *adiaphora*." The severity of their differences eventually led to Knox and his followers' leaving Frankfurt for Geneva.²⁶ Certainly, most reformers could agree with Matthew Parker when he stated, "And where it

²⁴ Anon., "An homelie against perill of Idolatrie," 25v.

²⁵ While Hooper refused to include vestments as *adiaphora*, categorizing them among things completely corrupted by Catholicism, Ridley believed that vestments as "God's creations" could be used for good. However, this position seemed to contradict Ridley's stance on images in churches: "images placed in churches and set in an honourable place of estimation ... and especially over the Lord's table ... especially after so long continuance of abuse of images, and so many being blinded with superstitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent" (Nicholas Ridley, *The works of Nicholas Ridley, D.D. ..., martyr, 1555*, ed. Henry Christmas [Cambridge: Parker Society, 1841], 90).

²⁶ Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519–1582: The Struggle for a Reformed Church* (London: Cape, 1979), 74.

is commonly alleged that images in churches do stir up the mind to devotion, it may be answered that, contrariwise, they do rather distract the mind from prayer, hearing of God's word, and other godly meditation."²⁷ But it seemed next to impossible to press much further in defining what was acceptable and indifferent and at the same time maintain a general consensus among the leaders of the English Reformation. In fact, Parker himself was of the more conservative Protestant ilk, who gladly assented to the will of the monarch on many points of ecclesiastical policy. This level of *adiaphora* would become unacceptable to puritan preachers, and even to some bishops.

The fragmented definition of *adiaphora* only seems strange if we think of these matters in overly simplistic categories of Protestant versus Catholic or Lutheran versus Reformed. In reality, the front lines of the debate on images divided groups of reformers as much as entire theological confessions. Even the most disciplined thinkers like John Calvin cannot be fitted neatly into either an iconophobia or an iconophilia cast. Calvin condemned idolatry and struck out against the use of images in worship, but he also avoided adopting an iconophobic viewpoint: "I am not, however, so superstitious as to think that all visible representations of every kind are unlawful."²⁸ Calvin approved of images in general and was quite positive about more than a few. The French reformer identified and approved several groups of images, including "historical, which give a representation of events, and pictorial, which merely exhibit bodily shapes and figures" for use by the faithful Protestant.²⁹ In several places, Calvin expressed a deep devotional interest in visual "living images" (e.g. sacraments, nature, and human beings), which he believed could effectively represent religious truths and be employed as meditative foci.³⁰

Theodore Beza and Peter Martyr Vermigli

Calvin's successor in the Genevan church, Theodore Beza, held a more sympathetic position on the meditative function of images. Beza did not

²⁷ Matthew Parker, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, eds. John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1853), 85.

²⁸ Zachman, *Image and Word in the Theology of John Calvin*, 8; Calvin, *Institutes*, 100.

²⁹ John Calvin, *The Sermons of M. John Calvin upon the fifth book of Moses called Deuteronomy*, trans. Arthur Golding (London, 1583) (facsimile; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 138; Calvin, *Institutes*, 100.

³⁰ Zachman, *Image and Word in the Theology of John Calvin*, 8–10.

join the Protestant movement until the age of thirty, and his early career had been that of a humanist and jurist. When he did convert, he moved to Geneva and quickly became a leading thinker under Calvin. Popular in Reformation England for his catechetical writings and the commentary notes in the Geneva Bible, Beza was also known for his approval of illustrations.³¹ Echoing John Foxe's opinion on printed images (see above), Beza struggled with the notion that people could possibly worship pictures in books. In fact, he seemed to think that printed images were an altogether different category of visual representation, one that could be very beneficial. In his *Icones* and elsewhere, Beza promoted poetic and aesthetic expressions of faith as supplements to the preaching and reading of the Word. His drama *Abrahams sacrifice* (c. 1577) was published in London by the Huguenot printer Thomas Vautrollier with several illustrative woodcuts, with which Beza took some creative liberties.³² Elsewhere, Beza emphasized the printed image not merely as permissible but also as potentially good and useful to the advancement of piety. As if in response to the critics of *Icones*, he claimed there was "nothing in common between the placing of images in churches on the grounds they were books for laymen and the pictured presence of departed doctors alongside their words."³³ Most significantly, Beza widened Calvin's category of living images to include an image made by human hands that was intended to stir people's minds to an intellectually centred devotion. Beza's use of images has been compared to St Anselm's dictum *fides quaerens intellectum*. Jeffrey Mallinson writes, "Just as the preached Word is confirmed by

³¹ Biographical studies of Beza in English are slim; see Scott M. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace, 1572–1598* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); see also, Paul F. Geisendorf, *Theodore de Beza* (Geneva: Alexandre Jullien, 1949).

³² Theodore Beza, *A tragedie of Abrahams sacrifice* (London: T. Vautrollier, 1577); Kathleen M. Hall, "A Study of the Variants in the 'Abraham Sacrifiant' of Theodore de Beza: 'Les Mots de Dieu sont Asseurez,'" *Modern Language Review* 63 (1968): 823–31; Nathan Johnstone, "The Protestant Devil: The Experience of Temptation in Early Modern England," *Journal of British Studies* 43 (2004): 173–205. His playwriting is an aspect of Beza's life that is often overlooked. However, his early Latin poetry and his continued use of literary forms speak to a rich and cultivated creativity in the reformer. Richard Rolt mentioned that Calvin, desirous of Beza's scholarship, exhorted him to forego his literary exercises and focus on theology and ecclesiastical endeavours: Richard Rolt, *The Lives of the Principal Reformers* (London, 1759).

³³ Theodore Beza, *The popes canons wherein the venerable and great masters of the Romish Church are confuted in these ten discourses following* (London, 1587), sigs. D4r–D8v; Margaret Aston, "Gods, Saints, and Reformers: Portraiture and Protestant England," in *Albion's Classicism: Visual Arts in Britain: 1550–1660*, ed. Lucy Ghent (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 191.

the visible sacraments, so the faith of hearing seeks a final knowledge of sight.”³⁴ Though it is unlikely Beza would have attributed to hearing and seeing a sermon a connection as intimate as that between the Word and the sacraments, he certainly seemed confident that printed images of martyrs and other scriptural truths would not be mistaken or abused. It seems that Beza was convinced that their use as memorials and objects of spiritual inspiration far outweighed the risks.

Interestingly, Beza's letter to Bishop Edmund Grindal in the 1560s became a rallying point for more radical voices during the vestment controversies with Queen Elizabeth, in which many clergy refused to don clerical vestments. In 1566, Beza wrote, “there are many things, which of themselves being indifferent, yet for an opinion of worshippe annexed unto them, can skarsly or not at all be eschued, ought to be counted among superstition.”³⁵ In the following decade, the same letter was attached to the puritans' *Second Admonition to Parliament*, which decried many shortcomings of the Elizabethan reforms. Beza acknowledged the principle of *adiaphora* (“themselves being indifferent”) in the letter, and there is no indication that printed images were among those things that he felt should “be eschued.”³⁶ Here, again, the tension between use and abuse appears. At one end, reformers confirmed that images had the potential for good use, but at the other end was the ever-present inclination simply to do away with all material/visual threats that could be abused by idolatry.

Although his letter to Grindal made a splash in puritan circles, Beza's influence in England was overshadowed by another European reformer: Peter Martyr Vermigli. An Italian reformer and Oxford professor, Vermigli was instrumental in the lives of several English bishops including bishop of Salisbury, and *de facto* apologist of the Elizabethan church, John Jewel. After fleeing Italy in 1542, Vermigli accepted an invitation from Thomas Cranmer to settle in Oxford under the protection of Edward VI, though he apparently enjoyed neither the English way of life nor the English language. After Edward's death, Vermigli served as a mentor and guide to several English exiles during the reign of Mary I.³⁷ Vermigli's thought

³⁴ Jeffrey Mallinson, *Faith, Reason, and Revelation in Theodore Beza, 1519–1605* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 174.

³⁵ *Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt*, eds. W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas (New York: Burt Franklin, 1972), 52.

³⁶ *Puritan Manifestoes*, 52.

³⁷ Gary Jenkins, “Peter Martyr and the Church of England after 1558,” in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, ed. Frank A. James

was shaped during the period when Erasmian humanism and the ideas of the reformers still shared a great deal of common ground. Unlike Calvin, Beza, and others, Vermigli maintained the life of a scholar, without the pressures and demands of managing a local or national church. His theology is often more nuanced and subtle, like that of Philip Melancthon, lacking the reactionary sentiments of someone on the front lines of religious conflict. His situation allowed Vermigli to explore thoroughly the various levels of ambiguity surrounding images, which were quietly plaguing many reformers. In his *Loci communes*, Vermigli examined a range of questions about the proper use of images, delving much further into the topic than either Calvin or Beza. By the time this much-celebrated work appeared in London, in 1583, his influence upon the Protestant conception of images was already profound.

Like Beza, Vermigli stressed the mind's ability to seek after God through both hearing and seeing religious texts. God's Word, the sacraments, hymns, and other aids should be employed so that people might partake in this intelligible religion. A second principle, outlined here by Donald Fuller, follows: "that God's words are communicated and received in worship by activities that encompass the whole human person such as thinking, speaking, hearing, seeing and doing."³⁸ Vermigli explained, "we give a testimonie of this mind of ours, by prostrating the bodie, and bowing the knee, by uncovering the head, by speaking, and by exercising rites and ceremonies by God appointed. And this is an outward worshipping or adoration."³⁹ In other words, devotion encompassed and occupied the entire person, whether in singing hymns, reading scripture, listening to a sermon, or gazing upon a picture.

Furthermore, Vermigli acknowledged that images were useful "for the keeping of things in memorie, for the garnishing of houses, and also to serve for some honest pleasure, wherewith men sometime may both delite and recreate themselves."⁴⁰ Above all, images offered a means of

(Leiden: Brill, 2004), 47–69; Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

³⁸ Donald Fuller, "Sacrifice and Sacrament: Another Eucharistic Contribution from Peter Martyr Vermigli," in James, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations*, 216.

³⁹ Peter Vermigli, *The common places of Peter Martyr*, trans. Anthonie Marten (London, 1583), 307.

⁴⁰ Vermigli, *The common places*, 334. M.A. Overell, "Peter Martyr in England, 1547–1553: An Alternative View," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 15 (1984): 87–104.

presenting “the profitable and holie histories” in a visual form.⁴¹ These histories included stories of the Bible and accounts of martyrs and reformers. Vermigli allowed for depictions of “angels,” because “they have shewed themselves unto men,” which should conform to scriptural description. A thing did not need to be visible to the illustrator to be rightfully depicted. Also, Vermigli refused to censure an image simply because it had been used by Catholics. The cross was perhaps the most controversial image for many English reformers, who would eventually condemn its depiction entirely. However, in accord with Tyndale, Vermigli stated, “it is lawfull also, to forme and picture foorth” the cross so long as that image was not used as an object of worship.⁴²

Vermigli certainly was aware of and warned against idolatry, but like other early reformers, he grounded the definition of idolatry in how an image was used. He exhorted his readers to avoid those people who “put a confidence in them [images], to love them, to call upon them, to offer them incense, and to burn candles to them.”⁴³ However, such potential abuse did not take away from the ability of images to serve as aids in meditation. A similar line of reasoning informed his understanding of the Eucharist, in which the importance of the bread and the wine was subsumed by his emphasis upon the Word of God. Although pictures are not sacraments, Vermigli employed the language of *signa* in regards to both. A *signa*, for Vermigli, was a powerful symbol or sign that could move the mind to contemplation of heavenly things. The idea of *signa* also provided a language with which to speak about images as something more than mere totems. Vermigli explained that, “touching our cognitions of the mind and comprehension of faith, we confess that as touching the thing itself, the nature of the bread and wine go away, and that our mind only cleaves to the things signified.”⁴⁴ Both sacrament and picture were ultimately insubstantial. One should move beyond the *signa*, ascending past the material substance. In effect, the materials of the sacrament became things of an indifferent nature, ultimately fading before the importance of the truth revealed. In the same way, although the import was less, the visual image directed the mind to a thing signified, to the reality depicted therein.

⁴¹ Vermigli, *The common places*, 341.

⁴² Vermigli, *The common places*, 341.

⁴³ Vermigli, *The common places*, 341.

⁴⁴ Vermigli, *The common places*, 457.

William Perkins

Vermigli influenced an array of English reformers who varied in doctrinal allegiance from conforming Anglicans who favoured Calvinist theology to the dissenting puritans who broke away from the Elizabethan communion. His thinking highlights the variety of Reformation perspectives on images. On the one hand, Vermigli wrote in terms representative of *adiaphora*. On the other hand, he never strayed from a strong Calvinist line that detested anything that could be deemed idolatrous. The effect of this variety can perhaps best be seen in the puritan William Perkins and his popular tracts published at the end of Elizabeth's reign. As one of the most widely published theologians of his time, Perkins offers a useful example of English reformed thought. Not only was he widely influential, but his opinions, which were amongst the more strident of the period, provide something of a boundary of English Protestantism and therefore help us define the limits of what some have described as a period of iconophobia.⁴⁵

In *A reformed catholike*, Perkins echoed the homily against the adoration of images, saying "in the daies after the Apostles, men used privately to keep the pictures of their friends departed: and this practise after crept into the open congregation, and at last superstition getting head, images began to be worshipped."⁴⁶ Perkins mocked traditional defences of the use of images, and he lambasted the conspicuous attempts to permit images in books for laymen or as aids for the illiterate. However, Perkins's opinion of images was more complicated than his harsh language and derisive condemnation may at first suggest. His emphasis on the development of image abuse from the early church through the medieval period also reveals his belief that images were not inherently corrupt. Idolatry had festered and spread slowly over several centuries. Like so many other Protestant reformers, Perkins made a distinction between the civil and religious uses of images. His differentiation was based upon the distinction between spiritual and political (civic) authority that was so important to the puritan doctrinal schema. Perkins identified three forms of civil

⁴⁵ It is no wonder that Perkins was largely responsible for introducing Theodore Beza's theology to Elizabethan England, particularly Beza's arguments for double predestination. However, despite his more radical views, Perkins was also a master of dissembling when it came to the dangers of being associated with nonconformist Puritanism, and he successfully avoided harsh punishment by the Crown, though he never ascended far in the clergy.

⁴⁶ William Perkins, *The workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins. The first volume* (London, 1626), 587.

image: the architectural and artistic, the political (e.g. on coins), and the memorial, which included those symbols of the monarchy before which people were expected to kneel.⁴⁷ He openly acknowledged and approved the “civill use ... in common societies of men; out of the appointed places of the solemne worship of God. And this to be lawfull ... because the arts of painting and graving are the ordinance of god: and to be skilfull in them is the gift of God.”⁴⁸ For Perkins, the most important type of image was the “historicall,” which he deemed “to be good and lawfull: and that is, to represent to the eye the actes of histories, whether they be humane, or divine: and thus we thinke the histories of the Bible may be painted in private places.”⁴⁹ Although Perkins neglected, perhaps intentionally, the meditative aspects of image use that were proposed by Vermigli and Beza, he nevertheless did not deny the benefits of Biblical images. In fact, he quite approved of such images so long as they were not placed in churches or in any way treated with idolatrous reverence.

Although his polemical pen was filled with venom, Perkins exemplifies the typical struggle within Protestant identity between image and idol. Most English Protestants neither condemned images altogether nor were ambivalent towards visual representation. For much of the Reformation, certain boundaries were fairly universal, as the general condemnation of outward devotional demonstrations towards images within churches demonstrates. Also, more life-like and three-dimensional images were more suspect than those that were abstract or totemic. However, the Reformation in England was never able to substantively establish its position on visual images beyond such basic distinctions. The situation was certainly inflamed by the ever-present influence of the English Catholic community. The English Catholics, at home and in exile, presented a continual challenge to the development of English Protestantism, forcing Protestants to engage in theological debates and confronting the accepted truths of reformed dogma. The theology of men like Perkins was forged and refined in confrontation with the Catholic defence of images, which actively sought to dismantle the Protestant assault on traditional icons.

⁴⁷ William Perkins, *A reformed Catholike, or, A declaration shewing how neere we may come to the present Church of Rome in sundrie points of religion, and wherein we must for euer depart from them : with an advertisement to all fauourers of the Romane religion, shewing that the said religion is against the Catholike principles and grounds of the catechisme* (London: 1597, 170–72.

⁴⁸ Perkins, *A reformed catholike*, 169.

⁴⁹ Perkins, *A reformed catholike*, 172.

The Catholic Opposition

The Catholic opposition to Protestant iconoclasm has often been overlooked or at the very least overshadowed by the more destructive reformed policies. Catholic theological discourse in general is usually segregated into its own corner, excluded from broader discussions of the English Reformation. Recent studies on the English Catholic community clearly indicate, however, that Catholics played a significant role in shaping religious identity in Reformation England.⁵⁰ Also, it may come as a surprise to some that Catholic discourse on images was in many ways as diverse and multifaceted as its Protestant counterpart. The Council of Trent strongly upheld the standard that “great profit is derived from all sacred images,” specifically as teachers in the “histories of the mysteries of our Redemption.” It also directly contradicted the reformed position, saying images “are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and that due honour and veneration are to be awarded them.”⁵¹ Yet while Trent helped to unify Catholic polemicists on image use, Catholic writers still demonstrated a variety of views on key points, including how God the Father should be properly depicted, how images should be used, and how image devotion should be defended.

The first sustained defence of images during the Reformation came from Sir Thomas More in his debates with William Tyndale. More clarified and systematized what would become the staple of Catholic apology for images.⁵² In his two editions of *Concerning Heresies* (c. 1529 and 1531), More reiterated the traditional view that the scriptural mandate against idols was directed at images of false gods, not against Christian images. He also echoed the belief that Christian images were justified and

⁵⁰ Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993); Ethan Shagan, ed., *Catholics and the “Protestant Nation”: Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Christopher Highley, *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁵¹ *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. Theodore Buckley (London: Routledge, 1851), 214.

⁵² Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 173–94; Thomas More, *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, in *The Complete Works of Thomas More*, vol. VIII, part I, eds. Thomas Lauder, Germain Marc'Hadon, and Richard Marius (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981).

functionally necessary as laymen's books for the illiterate and as aids in popular devotion. Furthermore, the Catholic humanist reiterated the distinction set down by Thomas Aquinas between *dulia*, reverence given to non-divine images, and *latria*, reverence for God alone.⁵³ Since Tyndale permitted some images, More waxed indignantly at Tyndale's cavilling distinctions between images and idols when he defended the acts of iconoclasts. Interestingly, what we know of Tyndale's view of images is largely due to his contending with More's logic. Over the course of the Reformation, similar debates played out in the polemical culture, vocalizing and codifying the opposing sides. Catholic discourse helped shape and was shaped by the events of the reform movements. Certainly, it developed unique characteristics and some formulaic arguments; however, it also proved able to adapt to specific contexts. What is apparent from these texts is that images continued to be seen as a vital point of departure in defining the division between Protestant and Catholic.

In the 1560s, the Catholic clerics John Martiall and Nicholas Sander each developed an apology to counter accusations from the new Elizabethan clergy. Martiall's *A treatyse of the crosse* was a direct response to sermons by John Jewel. The text adopted a conciliatory style, with a sincere dedication to Queen Elizabeth that praised her own defence of the cross. Martiall included an extensive discussion on miracles performed by crosses, incorporating the basic arguments that More had put forward in his works.⁵⁴ Three years after Martiall's work had appeared, the exiled priest Nicholas Sander published *A Treatise of the Images of Christ and of his Saints* (c. 1567), which was the third volume in a series of polemic. Sander was more political than Martiall and would openly support the 1569 northern rebellion in Yorkshire. It is not surprising that his book reflects a more aggressive defence of Catholic images that would become the standard direction for later writers. Sander was explicitly concerned with all images, relying upon examples of image reverence in both church history and scripture.⁵⁵ The fact that Sander's work and most of the later Catholic discussions on images diminished the value of image miracles as evidence of sacrality is indicative of a shift in the Catholic community's own perspective. Thirty years later, in the 1590s, William Bishop

⁵³ For discussions on *dulia* and *latria* see Phillips, *The Reformation of Images*, 13–17; Alain Besançon, *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 81–115.

⁵⁴ John Martiall, *A treatyse on the crosse gathred out of the scriptures* (Antwerp, 1564).

⁵⁵ Nicholas Sander, *A treatise of the images of Christ and his saints: and that it is vnlafulfull to breake them, and lafulfull to honour them* (Louvain, 1567).

summarized the Catholic response to recent puritan attacks in his debates with William Perkins. Bishop completely avoided the role of miracles as tests of the images' worth. Instead, he dismantled what he saw as evasive attempts by Perkins to permit certain religious images outside places of worship while condemning all Catholic imagery as idolatrous.⁵⁶

With Sander and Bishop there is a marked change in the way Catholic polemicists defended images. The arguments for *dulia* and *latria* as well as for laymen's books continued to provide a base for discussion, but the substance of the debate had shifted in the middle of Elizabeth's reign. Catholics embraced more offensive tactics that caused many Protestant arguments and ideas to be turned against the reformed programme.

Translation and Mistranslation

At least two key elements of Catholic discourse directly addressed the matter of images in Protestant England and are worth mentioning in relation to religious identity. The first is the Catholic accusation that Protestant Bibles selectively translated the words *imago* and *idolum* as either image or idol, depending upon the context. Catholics regularly stressed the absurdity of this translation for, as William Bishop explained,

if you vse the one for the other, you must offende all good Christian eares; As where man is saide to be made after the Image of God, may you say after the Idoll of God? CHRIST is saide to be the Image of the Father; will you call him the Idoll of his Father?⁵⁷

Bishop's popularity among English Catholics makes such arguments important for understanding contemporary Catholic discourse. In fact, by the time Bishop was writing, many elements of this polemic against

⁵⁶ William Bishop, *A reformation of a Catholike deformed: by M.W. Perkins Wherein the chiefe controuersies in religion, are methodically, and learnedly handle* (English secret press, 1604), 42–57. Other works that followed Bishop's included Matthew Kellison, *A suruey of the new religion detecting many grosse absurdities which it implieth* (Doway, 1605); Thomas Fitzherbert, *An adioynder to the supplement of Father Robert Persons his discussion of M. Doctor Barlowes answere &c.* (Saint-Omer, 1613), 378–84; John Heigham, *The gagge of the reformed gospell* (Saint-Omer, 1623), 140–56. For a summary of the religious polemical field see Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London, Scolar Press, 1978).

⁵⁷ Bishop, *A reformation of a Catholic*, 47. Others made similar comments: Edmund Bonner, *A profitable and necessarye doctryne, with certayne homelies adjoynded therunto* (London, 1555), sigs. 2H4r–2K3r; Gregory Martin, *A discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptures* (Rhemes: J. Fogny, 1582), sig. C6v.

image destruction were already firmly established. In 1531, Thomas More remarked that Tyndale's "bark agaynste holy ymagys" hinged upon the understanding "that idoles and ymages be all one, bycause the idoles be a kind of ymages, and ymage is a terme indifferent to good and bade."⁵⁸ Clerics like Roger Edgeworth and Bishop Edmund Bonner echoed these sentiments. Then, in 1582, exiled English priest Gregory Martin asked the rhetorical question,

do they teach you to translate in these places thus, God hath predestinated us to be made conformable to the idol of his sonne. And againe, As we have borne the idol of the earthly (Adam) so let us beare the idol of the heavenly (CHRIST). And againe, We are transformed into the same idol, even as of our Lordes spirit. And againe, Christ who is the idol of the invisible God?⁵⁹

Examples of Protestant translation abuse extended beyond the image/idol debate. The Welsh New Testament by William Morgan (c. 1588) incorrectly translated James 2.21. Every sixteenth-century translation of this verse was similar to the Catholic Douay-Rheims translation, which read, "Was not Abraham our father justified by works?" Morgan, however, translated the phrase as "Onid trwy ffyd y cyfiawnwyd," changing the key word "works" to "faith" (*ffyd*). According to Morgan, Abraham was justified by faith rather than by his actions, since he proved willing to sacrifice his son Isaac.⁶⁰ Although later translations repaired the mistake, Catholics were not ignorant of the fact that Morgan's translation aligned with the Protestant doctrine of *sola fides*.

Many learned Protestants—such as Hugh Broughton—were well aware of such translation failings. They partially defended, and partially bemoaned, the flawed translations as evidence of shortcomings in Greek and Hebrew training. However, for Catholics, the stench of double-dealing was generated by more than a lack of learning. According to many Catholics, uncertainty in translation undermined the entire reformed regime, by making fallible that which should be infallible.⁶¹ Scripture was the highest,

⁵⁸ More, *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, 173, 175.

⁵⁹ Martin, *A discoverie of the manifold corruptions*, sig. C6v.

⁶⁰ William Morgan, *Y Beibl Cyssegr-lan. Sef yr Hen Destament, a'r Newydd* (London, 1588). Interestingly, the earlier Welsh translation, which many Protestants, including Morgan, derided, translated this verse accurately as, "Onid trwy weithredoedd i cyfiawnwyd, Abraham yn tad ni, pan offrymmawdd ef Isaac en faceryr allawr" (William Salesbury, *Testament Newydd ein arglwydd Jesu Christ* [London, 1567], sig. 2X6r).

⁶¹ Heigham, *A gagg for the reformed gospel*, 21; N.N., *An epistle of a Catholicke young gentleman, (being for his religion imprisoned). To his father a Protestant* (English secret press, 1623), 25.

and for some the only, authority for piety. A flawed translation would lead necessarily to flawed practice, and intentional corruption of the text was absolutely abominable. Concerning this danger, an anonymous Catholic wrote in a letter to his cousin, "what certayntie have you now of anie true translation to guide you to god-ward?"⁶² Other Catholics, like Matthew Kellison, argued that Protestants had neither an absolute, infallible judge on earth (i.e. the Pope), nor any other standard for judging rightly.⁶³

Catholic discourse painted a picture of Protestantism dismayed and adrift. The Catholic printer John Heigham ominously warned that the outcome of such a perspective would be that people would interpret scripture "without restraint ... to their owne destruction."⁶⁴ Accusations of disorder were also directed at the Protestant assault on images, particularly when it was clear that acts of iconoclasm were carried out without ecclesiastic or government approval. Protestant arguments relied on the authority of scripture to condemn religious images. If that authority was unveiled to reveal an empty shell without any substantive core, the condemnation of images would be muted. Without Kellison's "visible Judge" to interpret scripture clearly, there was no hope for Protestant truth and unity.

Protestant Hypocrisy

The second main point of Catholic discourse of relevance to Protestant attitudes to images suggested that free employment by Protestants of visual images in a variety of ways was evidence of blatant and profuse hypocrisy. In 1606 the Catholic priest Robert Chambers criticized the woodcuts in John Foxe's *Actes and monuments*, saying that Protestants "set them out the pictures of his Martyrs, and his people may gaze upon them. The images of Wiclif, Luther, Hus, Melancthon, Calvin, & of such Apostata condemned companions may be painted, sold, and hanged up in every ones hows to be tooted upon ... without any peril of Idolatrie, or breache of Gods commaundements."⁶⁵ Sander accused Bishop Jewel of hypocrisy and idolatry because Jewel allowed printed images of "Antiques and Gorgons" in his books. Sander explained that since "this Image was graven

⁶² Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.243, "Controversii et compendium Becari," fol. 19.

⁶³ Kellison, *A suruey of the new religion*, book 1, ch. 6.

⁶⁴ Heigham, *A gagge for the reformed gospel*, 21.

⁶⁵ Robert Chambers, "Translator to the Reader," in *Miracles lately vvrought by the intercession of the glorious Virgin Marie, at Mont-aigu, nere vnto Siché in Brabant Gathered out of the publik instruments, and informations taken thereof* (Antwerp, 1606), sig. D7r.

in wood ... before it could be printed," then "he that hath pulled down Christes Image, and the Signe of his healthfull Crosse in all Churches and Chapels ... setteth fourth unto us a most bawdy spectacle." Sander was confident that "if the Printer had brought him [Jewel] the blessed signe of Christes manhood spread upon the Crosse ... he would have stormed at him not a little, and have caused him to have amended" the text.⁶⁶

Images of nymphs and cherubim were the least of Protestant concerns in this regard. More questionable were the portraits of reformers that were widely published in England. Portraits of Luther and the images of martyrs have been discussed elsewhere, but other reformers' pictures were equally popular and appeared in works like Theodore Beza's *Icones* (c. 1581).⁶⁷ An image of Philip Melanchthon was printed in England to accompany the publication of his works in 1541 and 1580. A picture of bishop and martyr Hugh Latimer appeared in a 1562 collection of his sermons. A portrait of Thomas Becon was widely disseminated, beginning in 1542. A second portrait of Becon first appeared in *The pomaunder of prayer* (c. 1558) and had been recycled in at least twenty-five editions by 1631.⁶⁸ Many Catholics accused Protestants not only of having double standards but also of idolatry. The anonymous Catholic quoted above argued that many nobles such as Sir William Fitzwilliams, one of Elizabeth's most successful Lords Deputy of Ireland, performed a kind of religious reverence to the Queen by bowing to her image every time they left a room.⁶⁹ The priest

⁶⁶ Sander, *A treatise of the images of Christ*, 166r–v. The text to which Sander is referring is John Jewel, *A reple vnto M. Hardinges answeare* (London, 1565). In the same year as Sander's treatise, Jewel's *A defence of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande* (London, 1567) appeared, with an image of Christ as the Good Shepherd that became one of the most popular woodcuts of the 1570s and 1580s.

⁶⁷ Pamela Tudor-Craig, "Group Portraits of the Protestant Reformers," in *Art Re-formed*, 87–102; Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 14–36, 55–56, 73–74, 220–31, 251–58; Paul Corbey Finney, "A Note on de Beza's *Icones*," in *Seeing beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul Corbey Finney (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 253–68.

⁶⁸ Philip Melanchthon, *A very godly defense, full of lerning, defending the mariage of priestes* (London, 1541); Melanchthon, *A godly and learned assertion in defense of the true church of God and His Woorde* (London, 1580). Hugh Latimer, *27 sermons preached by the ryght Reuerende father in God and constant matir [sic] of Iesus Christe, Maister Hugh Latimer* (London, 1562). Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603*, vol. I (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 73–74. Richard Williams has effectively argued that profile portraits of Christ were allowed because they were intended as an "object of historical interest"; Richard Williams, "The Reformation of an Icon: 'Portraits' of Christ in Protestant England," in Hamling and Williams, eds., *Art Re-formed*, 71–86.

⁶⁹ Folger MS V.a.243, fol. 10.

Edward Rishton offered a more sweeping accusation when he condemned the iconic devotion given to Queen Elizabeth, saying

And to show the greater contempt for our Blessed Lady, they keep the birth-day of the queen Elizabeth ... on the 7th day of September, which is the eve of the feast of the Mother of God, whose nativity they mark in their calendar in small and black letters, while that of Elizabeth is marked in letters both large and red.⁷⁰

Similarly, the Catholic scholar William Rainolds condemned Protestants for “keeping holie her [Elizabeth’s] Nativitie & Assumption to the crowne,” which he perceived as practices that “draweth neere to true Idolatrie.”⁷¹ The Catholic distaste focused not so much on the reverence itself, as on the fact that the reverence for the Queen was similar to that given by Catholics for the Virgin and for other images. While Protestants attacked the latter, they performed similar displays of veneration for a political authority. For Protestants, such action was completely justified, in line with the guidelines set out by Perkins.

This brief discussion of Catholic thought provides insight into English Catholicism in the period, but the Catholic discourse also served as a counterpoint to the development of a reformed identity. Although Protestants rarely openly admitted it, the Catholic assault upon reform-minded iconoclasm was sustained and complex. It exposed real problems that their dogma did not entirely equip Protestants to face. The frustration felt by Protestant clergy at these attacks is exemplified in the minister William Fulke’s debates with Gregory Martin. Martin pointed out,

When the cross stood many years upon the table in the queen’s chapel, was it against this commandment? ... Or do the Lutherans, your pue-fellows, at this day commit idolatry against this commandment, that have in their churches the crucifix, and the holy images of the mother of God, and of St. John the evangelist?

Exasperated, Fulke responded, “Touching the cross ... it is not by and by idolatry ... neither is the having of any images in the church (which are had in no use of religion).” Again, the location of the image was not the absolute indicator of idolatry. Those images condemned had a clear

⁷⁰ Nicolas Sander, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism, with a continuation of the History, by the Rev. Edward Rishton*, trans. David Lewis (London: Burns and Oates, 1877), 294.

⁷¹ William Rainolds, *A refutation of sundry reprehensions, cauels, and false sleighes, by which M. Whitaker laboureth to deface the late English translation, and Catholike annotations of the new Testament* (Paris, 1583), 265.

lineage of abuse, and apparently, without this misuse one could apparently have images for non-religious use, even inside the church. Fulke followed the same line of reasoning for Lutherans, arguing, “we will not accuse the Lutherans of idolatry, neither can we, because they worship no images.”⁷² Even though Lutherans continued to adorn churches with rich iconography, Fulke was unwilling to condemn them for idolatry, which would have invited a multitude of thornier problems.

Conclusion

The acceptability of certain types of images became increasingly important at the end of Elizabeth's reign. As puritanism and the Church of England grew more estranged, in part because of the emergence of visible forms of piety in the early Stuart churches, divines like John Donne and Lancelot Andrewes elevated many of the liturgical concepts latent in the Protestant use of images to more devotional heights.⁷³ As Donne stated, “there is no necessity of pictures; but will not every man add this. That if the true use of Pictures be preached unto them, there is no danger of an abuse.”⁷⁴

In Tudor England, visual images were intellectually relocated into a context that was manageable, albeit also often ambiguous. What John Dillenberger has described as a “concentration ... on the word alone in the medium of words, not the medium of sight” is not congruent with the picture of Protestant identity discussed in this chapter.⁷⁵ Certainly, the destruction of visual icons was extensive and at times pandemic. However, to identify this loss with the complete annihilation of religious visual media is hyperbole. Instead, there were transitions in the understanding of what images were. Protestants not only permitted images to be used but also fashioned new images. There was also no progressive evolution of

⁷² William Fulke, *A Defence of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holy Scriptures into the English Tongue: Against the Cavils of Gregory Martin*, ed. Charles Henry Hartshorne (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1843), 204–5.

⁷³ Alexandra Walsham, “The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists, and ‘Parish Anglicans’ in Early Stuart England,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 49 (1998): 620–51; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 74–125.

⁷⁴ John Donne, *The Sermons*, vol. VII, eds. Evelyn M. Simpson and George Popper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), 431–32; Lancelot Andrewes, *The Pattern of Catechetical Doctrine* (London, 1630).

⁷⁵ John Dillenberger, *Images and Relics: Theological Perceptions and Visual Images in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 190.

iconoclastic attitudes, no simple shift from Lutheran *adiaphora* to white-washed Calvinism. Instead, while the theology of images fluctuated, there was a general trend towards recognizing that visual images directed readers to the Word. Catholic icons were banished, but these images were replaced by different kinds of printed imagery with a different emphasis. Images ceased to be the focus of adoration and worship; yet, although no longer points of reverence, they continued to thrive as points of reference.

CHAPTER THREE

CHRIST, THE VIRGIN, AND THE CATHOLIC TRADITION OF PRINTED IMAGES

Written above a simplistic woodcut of the Crucifixion in Luis de Granada's *A memorial of a Christian life* (c. 1599) are the words "Christus moriens." Similarly, in a copy of the 1570 *Kalendar of Shepherds*, a reader labelled an image of the Annunciation with "my honored Lady."¹ At the same time as Protestants were erasing, scratching through, and amending certain pictures, Catholic readers engaged with printed images on a more devotional level. Although the advent of mechanical reproduction was once perceived as the death knell of emotive, devotional images, as David Areford has argued, there is much evidence to suggest that devotees had "intimate interaction with the print" on a level consummate with earlier devotional forms.² While later chapters outline how this was true of Protestants, the focus here will turn to the Catholic context of the English Reformation and to how Catholics adapted their visual culture in the turbulent environment of sixteenth-century England.

It is not necessary to argue for a Catholic visual culture in Tudor England. That there was such a culture is already established.³ Instead, this chapter orients the role of the Catholic community within the landscape of English visual culture and explains how Catholic printing influenced the larger Reformation. Furthermore, the chapter provides a necessary context for understanding Protestant images, as Protestants drew from the diverse traditional iconography, creating contrasts and associations between the two religious identities. While English Catholic printing has been grossly neglected, it offers an essential counterpoint to what, by the end of Elizabeth I's reign, amounted to Protestant visual and textual print. The printing of Catholic books in England predated

¹ *The shepardes kalender* (London, 1570), F4v [Folger Shakespeare Library. Deck B–STC Vault].

² David Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 14.

³ Peter Parshall, *The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Martha Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and Its Sources* (London: British Library, 2004).

Protestant printing, and during the Reformation Catholics also demonstrated alacrity in producing and distributing a variety of old and new works. Furthermore, Catholic printers proved flexible in their ability to adjust to political and economic changes, being bolstered in the 1540s and Queen Mary's reign, only to be suppressed by Edward VI and Elizabeth. They found a variety of methods to continue their work under Elizabeth, including secret presses, printing abroad, and printing as crypto-Catholics. To describe Reformation printing without this backdrop is to neglect both a foundation upon which reformed print was based and a major counterpoint to the developing Protestant culture.

Recent studies of English Catholicism after the Council of Trent have emphasized how multifaceted and active the community of Catholic believers became under a Protestant regime.⁴ The dynamic nature of Catholicism is apparent in the variety of printed images with particularly Catholic appeal that survived the onslaught of reform. Some of these images existed only on the periphery of society, in those recusant texts produced either abroad or from surreptitious presses.⁵ Other images were not only tolerated (i.e. left undefaced) but also reproduced from legitimate presses in Reformation England. Since the publication of John Bossy's *The English Catholic Community* in 1976, studies on English Catholics have reintegrated Catholicism into our understanding of the Reformation milieu.⁶ Michael Questier, Anne Dillon, Alexandra Walsham, and others provide fine insight into the composition, culture, and workings of Catholic communities, which were by no means homogenous or unified, even within a society that was antagonistic towards their religious

⁴ Alexandra Walsham, "Translating Trent? English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation," *Historical Research* 78 (2005): 288–310; John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

⁵ The most thorough catalogue of these is found in: Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603*, vol. I (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998).

⁶ John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976). Attempts to include the Catholic community more fully in discussions of the Reformation include Peter Marshall, "(Re)defining the English Reformation," *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009): 564–86; Ethan Shagan, ed., *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation": Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); Arthur Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2005); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

loyalties. Scholars continue to grapple, however, with the specific effects Catholic groups had on their Protestant counterparts, although as earlier studies of Protestant literature note, these effects could be immense and unexpected.⁷ This is nowhere better seen than in visual culture. Despite widespread iconoclasm, Protestant printed images were strongly rooted in the visual traditions of medieval Catholicism and continued to draw from that source throughout the period. In certain ways, the Reformation of images was an extension of late-medieval visual culture and a reaction to it. Catholic images suggest a similar transformation took place within Catholic iconography that was almost certainly a product of its interaction with the reform movements.

Catholic Primers and English Protestantism

To appreciate fully the historical and cultural significance of the survival of religious printed images, we must recognize that Protestant images were not innovations but renditions of a well-established medium. Despite the scepticism of certain scholars, English Catholics were not slow in employing both the printing press and the printed image in the propagation and expression of their beliefs. The notion that Catholicism, particularly the Marian Catholicism of the 1550s, somehow retarded the printing trade is patently false.⁸

⁷ Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570–1625* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage and Religion, c.1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Anne Dillon, *The Construction of Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1535–1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Lucy Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993). On the literary similarities between Catholic and Protestant works see Allison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Helen White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979); Barbara Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979).

⁸ Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 58–61; Jennifer Loach, “The Marian Establishment and the Printing Press,” *English Historical Review* 101 (1986): 135–48. Also, recent work on printing presses in monasteries and abbeys is enlightening: E.A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *Syon Abbey and Its Books: Reading, Writing, and Religion, c. 1400–1700* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010).

The primer was one of the most important types of illustrated book in England to reflect Catholic piety in its images after 1534. After Henry VIII's break with Rome, primers preserved both the format and illustrations of many traditional prayer books. They were particularly useful because they incorporated several liturgical texts into a single volume; they also provided a forum that served both traditional and reformed pieties well.⁹ Even though Protestants began to monopolize the primer genre as early as 1539, with the illustrated *The manuall of prayers* printed by John Mayler and John Wayland, primers that emphasized traditional themes were printed with the approval of the King until 1547 and revived by Queen Mary in 1555. Between 1534 and 1558, over two dozen editions of primers employed traditional text and imagery, emphasizing the role of the Virgin, the saints, and the Passion.¹⁰ Like books of hours before them, primers focused mainly on two themes: the role of the Virgin Mary and the life and passion of Christ. The distinction between Protestant and Catholic primers was easy enough to detect from the images that they employed. *The manuall of prayers* (c. 1539), for example, opened with a woodcut of the allegory of Law and Grace followed by images of Christ preaching and the Annunciation of the Virgin and a picture of Death.¹¹ By contrast, a Sarum primer printed by Thomas Petyt in 1543 contained twenty-one woodcuts that included images of the Trinity, the Annunciation, two different woodcuts of the Man of Sorrows, the Coronation of the Virgin, and scenes from the Passion.¹² These texts were not only preserving the tradition of books of hours, which had been so popular in pre-Reformation England, they were also establishing a textual format for prayer books and devotionals and in the process generating a certain level of continuity across Catholic and Protestant cultures of piety.

This continuity was maintained through the recycling of older woodcuts. In this regard several printers played crucial roles, including: Thomas Petyt, John Wayland, William Copland, Richard Tottell, and Robert Redman. These men served as a bridge linking the early print culture of

⁹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 209–65.

¹⁰ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.514–40.

¹¹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.518–20.

¹² *The prymer in Englyshe and latyn, after the vse of the Sarum* (London, 1543); Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.527–28.

William Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, Julian Notary, and Robert Redman with Reformation print culture. Woodcuts and other printing materials from Caxton and company passed through the hands of this second generation before being fully employed by Elizabethan Protestant stationers like John Day, Henry Bynneman, and Christopher Barker.

Also, because of the financial return that primers promised, many printers on both sides of the Reformation divide dabbled with producing such works. Petyt was printing Tyndale Bibles for the King's printer Thomas Berthelet in the 1530s, before he shifted to Catholic primers in the 1540s. Then in the 1550s, his shop served as a mainstay of Catholic polemical-text printing under Queen Mary.¹³ Richard Grafton, a well-known Protestant figure, published a Latin primer in 1545, complete with woodcuts of the Coronation of the Virgin that he had acquired from Matthias Crom's shop in Antwerp.¹⁴ Even John Day was not immune from printing unmistakably Catholic primers when it suited his purposes. Even after his surreptitious polemical romps in the early Marian period on behalf of the exiled Protestants, Day issued the elaborate octavo *The prymer in Latine* (c. 1557) with twenty-eight large woodcuts. The cuts certainly belonged to Wayland, but Day was responsible for the publication, which included a stunning image of the Trinity anthropomorphized, with the instruction to the reader: "Adoro te sancta et indiuidua Trinitas, deus ineffabilis"¹⁵ (plate 1). Along with images of the Virgin, the image of the Trinity was a key indicator of the primer's doctrinal stance. While such images were entirely commonplace in Catholic books, it is intriguing to find a strident Protestant like Day willing to participate in a publication that visualized God.

Images of the Trinity appeared in the earliest pages of post-1536 primers on a regular basis until the more reformed *The manuall of prayers* (c. 1539). They then reappeared in primers in the last two years of King Henry's reign, but only in primers that corresponded to pre-Reformation prayer books.¹⁶ Images of God will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five,

¹³ E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1905), 120.

¹⁴ Grafton published *Orarium seu libellus precationum per regiam maiestatem & clerum latine aeditus* (London, 1545).

¹⁵ Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 168–69. Day's primer is *The prymer in Latine* (London, 1557), sig. S2r.

¹⁶ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.522–24.



Plate 1. The Holy Trinity, in *The prymer in Latine* (London: John Daye ass. John Wayland, 1557), sig. B7r. [By permission of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford]

but at least one representation of the Trinity was contentious even among Catholics. In this image, the Trinity, one figure with three faces, comes equipped with a triangular explanation that describes “pater,” “filius,” and “spiritus sanctus” as not the same as one another (“non est”) but all the same God (“est Deus”). Such a picture of a three-headed figure was printed

in two primers by Robert Redman, in 1537 and 1538 (plate 2). In Queen Mary's reign, the image appeared in a Salisbury primer published in Rouen. This iconography was the object of hot debate among Catholic theologians during the period and was eventually condemned, in the



Plate 2. The Holy Trinity, in *This prymer of Salisbury vse is se tout along with houthouyseyr chying, with many prayers* (Rouen, 1556), sig. H1r. [By permission of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford]

seventeenth century, as idolatrous.¹⁷ It inhabits both the anthropomorphized tradition that was common in Catholic print (i.e. seeing God as a man) as well as the approach becoming more popular in Protestant circles that abstracted and symbolized the divine.

Catholic Printers in Reformation England

By 1560, Protestant printers publishing traditional prayer books were a thing of the past. John Day issued two books of prayers that incorporated traditional formats and images, but the content was clearly reformed.¹⁸ Instead, the Elizabethan period witnessed a clear division among stationers. Catholic or conservative stationers found different methods and locations for publishing their particular beliefs. Like so much concerning the Elizabethan Catholic community, particularly recusant and crypto-Catholic groups, these printers' movements and perspectives remain largely obscure because of their own need for secrecy. Many printers undoubtedly found refuge abroad in the English Catholic colleges and the printing houses in cities like Antwerp, as indicated by the large body of English print produced on the continent.¹⁹

Other printers seemed determined to weather the Reformation storm, and something of their identity can be surmised from the texts they printed. A key example of how traditional printers survived the Tudor reforms is provided by John Cawood. Born in 1514, Cawood was one of the eldest stationers in London by 1558, serving as Master of the company for three years from 1561. Cawood had been the Royal printer to Queen Mary, publishing texts such as Bishop Edmund Bonner's homilies, and along

¹⁷ The two Redman primers are *The prymer in Englyshe and in Latyn* (London, 1537), sig. *4r and *The prymer in Englyshe and in Latyn* (London, 1538). The Marian primer printed in Rouen is not catalogued in *A Guide to English Illustrated Books: This prymer of Salisbury vse is se tout along with houtonyser chyng* (Rouen, 1556). For more on the Catholic condemnation of this iconography see Jan Hallebeek, "Papal Prohibitions Midway between Rigor and Laxity on the Issue of Depicting the Holy Trinity," in *Iconoclasm and Iconoclasm: Struggle for Religious Identity*, eds. Willem van Asselt et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 353–86.

¹⁸ John King, *Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 183, 236.

¹⁹ Insight into the local setting of the English Catholic communities around England can be found in Questier, *Catholicism and Community*, chs. 2, 10; William Kimble, *The Catholic Laity in Elizabethan England, 1558–1603* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap for Harvard University Press, 1964). The best catalogue of English Catholic works of this period is A.F. Allison and D.F. Rogers, eds., *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640: Works in English* (London: Scholar Press, 1989).

with John Walley and Richard Tottel, the complete works of Sir Thomas More in 1557.²⁰ In Elizabeth's reign, he continued as Royal printer in conjunction with Richard Jugge, who had recently returned from exile, and served as secretary to the imprisoned Nicholas Harpsfield, who refused to swear the oath of supremacy.²¹ He was seemingly satisfied to end his career in peace, having witnessed the religious turmoil under the previous three monarchs. In the 1560s, he mainly printed royal injunctions, Elizabethan homilies, the Book of Common Prayer, and New Testaments. However, there is evidence of his continued traditional faith from the years before his death in 1572. In a 1569 printing of the Great Bible, Cawood included an old woodcut of the Crucifixion that had not been used since its first appearance in a Tyndale New Testament (c. 1548).²² It is likely that Cawood acquired the cut through his partnership with Jugge, who printed the New Testament for Stephen Mierdman. Also, in 1570 Cawood produced a nearly complete illustrated edition of the pre-Reformation *Ship of fools* by Sebastian Brant.²³

A few older printers like Cawood straddled the Reformation divide, surviving into the Elizabethan years. Men like Tottell and Walley, who aided Cawood in printing More's works, John Wayland, Humphrey Powell, and William Rastell all demonstrated affinity with traditional forms of religion even though they operated for many years in a reformed England. Walley in particular is an interesting example of a convergence of traditionally minded printers, for he was the recipient of printing materials from de Worde, Richard Pynson, and Julian Notary.²⁴ In 1559, he acquired the printing materials for the catechetical pamphlet the *Kalendar of Shepherds*, complete with images of the Virgin, the Crucifixion, and image worshipping. He employed several printers over the next three decades to print four editions of the *Kalendar* including John Charlewood and Thomas East.²⁵ Although both Charlewood and East had successful careers in the Stationers' Company, they were both suspected of quietly

²⁰ Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, 23.

²¹ Thomas S. Freeman, "Harpsfield, Nicholas (1519–1575)," ODNB.

²² Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.200.

²³ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.251. See also J.R. Wilkie, "Brant and *The Ship of Fools*: An Introduction," *The University of Leeds Review* 16 (1973): 212–33.

²⁴ Duff, *A Century of the English Printing Trade*, 164.

²⁵ Martha Driver, "The Illustrated de Worde: An Overview," *Studies in Iconography* 17 (1996): 349–403; David Davis, "Images on the Move: The Virgin, the *Kalendar of Shepherds*, and the Transmission of Woodcuts in Tudor England," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 12 (2009): 99–132.

harbouring Catholic beliefs. In 1600 East's apprentices even reported that a Jesuit conspiracy was stirring at their master's house.²⁶ Although nothing came of the allegations, both East and Charlewood were known to have associations with recusant and crypto-Catholic groups. While East regularly printed Protestant theology, he was known best for his financially beneficial relationship with the court musician William Byrd, whose Catholicism was common knowledge.²⁷ Likewise, Charlewood printed several works for the puritan clergyman Edward Dering; he was, however, also responsible for the publication of Anthony Munday's subtle crypto-Catholic works.²⁸

An important dividing line for English Catholics came in February 1570 when Pope Pius V issued the papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, which excommunicated Elizabeth I. This step established a permanent divide between Catholic printers and the Elizabethan government, making it all the more dangerous to publish texts, particularly first-edition works, that were overtly papist.²⁹ By the late 1590s, many Catholics had abandoned legitimate printing houses altogether, publishing instead with the clandestine presses in and around London in order to avoid repercussions from the Crown.³⁰ Books were also regularly imported from Rouen, Antwerp, and Paris to supplement the limited supply from English presses. Although the English market was small, there seems to have been enough interest among European Catholics to ensure the printing of English prayer books, missals, breviaries, and the like. Many of these works stressed the sort of simple ceremonies and rituals that after 1570 were very difficult for English Catholics to perform because of the shortage of Catholic clerics. The sacraments of the Mass and confession became interesting foci in these publications, in both text and illustration. A series of prayer books

²⁶ Jeremy L. Smith, "Thomas East (1540–1608)," ODNB.

²⁷ More on Byrd see John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants, and Magnates* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

²⁸ For Munday's Catholicism see David Davis, "'The vayne of Eternall memorie': Contesting Representations of Queen Elizabeth in Tudor Woodcuts," *Word & Image* 27 (2011): 65–76; Donna Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560–1633* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture: Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London, 1580–1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

²⁹ Tutino, *Law and Conscience*, 18. In Protestant propaganda, the *Regnans in Excelsis* became synonymous with Catholic identity: Mary Morrissey, *Politics and Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 180.

³⁰ e.g., Alexandra Walsham, "'Domme Preachers?' Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print," *Past & Present* 168 (2000): 72–123. Interestingly, these clandestine presses demonstrated great agility and a proclivity to reproduce woodcuts that had not appeared in English print since the pre-Reformation period.

by Luis de Grenada printed in France with either woodcuts or engravings of the Mass were recycled by secret Catholic presses in England.³¹

A number of Elizabethan Catholic printers stand out in this post-excommunication period for having brief success in printing illustrated works in the heart of London. The best example is William Carter, who apprenticed with Cawood and inherited Cawood's religious sentiments and business affiliations. Unlike Cawood, however, Carter was unwilling passively, or passive aggressively, to submit to the new regime's religious-political schema. Along with another of Cawood's apprentices, John Lyon, Carter began a brief but well-funded and vibrant Catholic press that functioned in the mid and late 1570s.³² Carter was well placed for such a venture, having received all of Harpsfield's manuscripts, along with Harpsfield's cultivated network of connections in Europe. Carter's press churned out an impressive thirteen titles, many of which were illustrated devotionals and prayer books by divines like Luis de Grenada and Gaspar Loarte, before he was arrested in 1579 for his hand in printing Gregory Martin's *A Treatise of Schisme* (c. 1578). This collection is the richest source of English Catholic illustration printed in London after 1558.³³ In the following years, with the arrival in England of Jesuits like Edmund Campion and Robert Persons, clandestine presses such as the Green Street press functioned sporadically for short periods. None of these, however, ever rivalled Carter's success, and it is Carter's press that best outlines the contours of Catholic print culture in the late-sixteenth century.

Images of the Virgin

Although the Catholic images were hardly revolutionary, they do demonstrate both continuity with traditional themes and an effort to maintain what must have been seen as a threatened form of piety. Christ and the Virgin were the mainsprings of this visual culture. What is interesting is what is missing, namely images of the Trinity, the seven deadly sins, saints, and Death, and other pictures that are typical of the catechetical nature of

³¹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.551–53; Luis de Grenada, *Of prayer and meditation* (Paris, 1582); idem, *A memorial of a Christian life* (Rouen, 1586); idem., *A memorial of a Christian life* (London, 1599).

³² T.A. Birrell, "William Carter (1549–84): Recusant Printer, Publisher, Binder, Stationer, Scribe, and Martyr," *Recusant History* 28 (2006): 22–42.

³³ Henry Stanley Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 78–80; Ian Gadd, "Carter, William (*b.* in or before 1549, *d.* 1584)," ODNB.

these books. The images that were employed are indicative of the religious difficulties facing the English Catholic community not only in their thematic content but also in their simplistic style.

Although Catholic identity in England at this time remains something of a mystery, the importance of the Virgin is not in doubt. As elsewhere in Catholic Europe, the Virgin enjoyed “the highest levels of visibility and availability,” often rivalling her son in popular print and culture.³⁴ In English print, several such images recalled the iconic traditions of late-medieval piety characteristic of books of hours. One portrait of the Virgin and child was printed by William Carter in Gaspar Loarte’s *Instructions and advertisements* (c. 1579) and recycled three more times in the 1580s for clandestine presses in London³⁵ (plate 3). Visually, the image is reminiscent of the frontal portraits of Christ that were often accompanied by the Fifteen Oes, so popular in fifteenth-century England. Around the borders are two lines from the Ave Maria liturgy of hours: “Monstra te esse Matrem” and “Monstra te esse Filium.” Although Protestants refashioned images of the Annunciation to the Virgin and other pictures of mother and child together to emphasize Christ’s incarnation, the Catholic stress still fell on the Virgin. So important was the Virgin that she was often held as an unfallen Eve figure. The Italian Catholic Lorenzo Scupoli, whose book *The spiritual conflict* was first translated into English in 1598, explained that with the Virgin, “there were no presumption or pride,” without which “there likewise ... should be no fall.”³⁶ Scupoli goes on to encourage readers to meditate upon the Virgin after doing so upon the Father and the Son, seemingly placing her above the Holy Spirit in importance.

The significance of Mary is most obvious in the Crowning or Coronation of the Virgin as the queen of heaven (plate 4). In de Grenada’s *Of prayer*, the Coronation is depicted as a grand celebration within the celestial realm. The image portrayed the hierarchy of the church. Peter, with the papal keys, kneels on the same level as Paul, a bishop, and other saints. Below them are depicted first monastic orders, then circles of laymen, and finally, souls being rescued from purgatorial flames.³⁷ Along with the

³⁴ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 355. See also Nathan Mitchell, *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

³⁵ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.546.

³⁶ Lorenzo Scupoli, *The spiritual conflict* (Antwerp, 1598), sig. B5v.

³⁷ Luis de Grenada, *Of prayer, and meditation* (Paris, 1582), sig. 2H4v; Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.553.



Plate 3. Virgin and Child, in Gaspare Loarte, *Instructions and advertisements, how to meditate the misteries of the rosarie* (London: William Carter, 1579), sig. **4v. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

Assumption of the Virgin, Mary's Coronation, literally the crowning achievement of her life, was regularly depicted in Catholic visual culture after the Reformation. Both continental imports and Carter's illustrations produced images to represent this scene. The emphasis on this role of the Virgin reflects the description of her given by the Council of Trent. The council's canons explained the Virgin had been "advanced to the ethereal dwellings, shining amid the constellations as the morning star ... that she



Plate 4. Coronation of the Virgin, in Luis de Grenada, *Of prayer, and meditation* (Paris: Thomas Brumeau, 1582), sig. 2H4v. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

herself as the path of mercy ... intercedes with the King.”³⁸ Tridentine praise of the Virgin was, however, nothing new, and it is difficult to determine with any certainty whether Catholic images of the Virgin that appeared after 1570 were a revival of pre-Reformation imagery or a product of Trent (plate 5).

³⁸ *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. Theodore Buckley (London: Routledge, 1851), 320.



Plate 5. Pieta, in De Grenada, *Of prayer*, sig. P4v. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

Nine different woodcuts of the Coronation circulated in English print between 1534 and 1603, establishing the scene as one of the more popular of Mary.³⁹ Similarly, images of the *pieta*, the Virgin holding the dead body of Christ, maintained their pre-Reformation appeal among English Catholics. The *pieta*, or Our Lady of Pity, was one of the most important representations of the Passion according to Eamon Duffy. Its impact was felt by

³⁹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, II.176. Also see Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 177.

laymen as well as mystics like Margery Kempe, who detailed her own emotional encounter with a *pieta* image.⁴⁰ One image of the *pieta* was printed by Carter in *The godlie garden of Gethsemani* (c. 1580). This is one of the few woodcuts in the book that was not a copy of an image in Albrecht Dürer's "Small Passion" series. Although the woodcut is of somewhat poorer quality than the Dürer copies, its presence indicates that the scene of the *pieta* was deemed important enough to require the creation of an additional image. Elsewhere de Grenada explained, "the face of the mother is embraced with the bloude of the sonne; and the face of the sonne is bathed with the teares of the mother."⁴¹ Here the Virgin and Christ are captured together, almost of one suffering nature as they experience different perspectives on the same tragic event.

The most obvious expression of this sort of Marian devotion in late-Tudor England was provided by the images and texts of the rosary. The rosary would be popularized in England in the 1590s by the Jesuit Henry Garnet's *The Societie of the Rosary*, but it was already an important expression of piety when the Reformation began. After 1547 the wearing of rosary beads in public was forbidden. In 1566, John Bartlett included the rosary in his *The petegrewe of heretiques* as a key indicator of what constituted heretical Catholicism. Likewise, a 1599 broadside mocked the devotee to Mary, saying, "With Virgin wax he makes a hony alter,/ and on it stands, the torches and the tapers,/ Where he must sing his Rosarye and Psalter."⁴² For Catholics, however, the rosary presented a unique method of worshipping the mother of God and at the same time distinguishing them from what they saw as Protestant heresy.

The rosary was a practical expression of Catholic identity, and in printed images Catholic devotees were often identified by their rosary beads. Several texts like the *Jesus Psalter* draped their illustrations with the beads. To his readers, Loarte explained, "the deuotion of the Rosarie is very laudable and grateful to our Lorde and Sauoure *Iesus Christe*, and to the blessed virgin his mother... [and] this kind of deuotion mental prayer may with gret good and gaine of our soules be put in vse."⁴³ In his polemic *An epistle of the persecution of Catholikes in England*, the Jesuit Robert Parsons (or Persons) recounts the testimony of a Catholic priest who

⁴⁰ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 260–61.

⁴¹ De Grenada, *Of prayer*, 116.

⁴² Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 462; John Bartlett, *The petegrewe of heretiques* (London, 1566), 68v; Tailboys Dymoke, *Caltha poetarum* (London, 1599), sig. C4v.

⁴³ Gaspar Loarte, *Exercises of a Christian life* (London, 1579), 58v.

found comfort in the rosary in between bouts of torture in the Tower of London, "I was replenished, and filled vp with a kinde of super naturall swetenelle of Spirit. And euen while I was calling vpon the moste holie name of Iesus, and vpon the blessed virgin Marie (for I was in sayeing the Rosarie)." Earlier in the work and with a bitter tone, Parsons had reminded his readers that the texts and images of the Virgin that would otherwise have consoled and comforted devout readers were deemed treasonous in England because they had been "hallowed of the Byshopp of Rome."⁴⁴ The rosary took on a subversive aspect in the late-Tudor period, as something that could be cherished as a tangible statement of anti-Protestantism. Because of its portable size and the private nature of the prayers, the rosary advocated a level of interiority and invisible devotion that was not typical of traditional Catholic piety.

Images of Christ and the Catholic Community

In 1582 the Paris printer Thomas Brumeau, who was sympathetic to the Catholic cause in England, issued de Grenada's *Of prayer and meditation* in octavo with twenty-seven fresh engravings.⁴⁵ The main subjects of text and images were the Passion of Christ and the mysteries of the faith (e.g. Last Rites, the Mass, and the Eucharist). Divided into meditations for the morning (on the Passion) and the evening (on the mysteries), each illustration was accompanied by Biblical passages in Latin. On the title-page was a unique image of Christ with a crowd of followers (plate 6). Each figure carries a cross, and the rosaries tied to the followers' belts are particularly prominent. Except in its portrayal of the notable rosary beads, this image mirrors a trend within Protestant print culture that depicted Christ as the ultimate teacher and model for the believer (see chapter four). In this image, however, the emphasis on *imitatio Christi*, and its theme of physical suffering, is much more deliberate than in Protestant images. Brumeau's engravings ferry readers stage-by-stage through the Passion sequence, so that each day they are reacquainted with the tortures of the Crucifixion.

⁴⁴ Robert Parsons, *An epistle of the persecution of Catholickes in Englande* (Rouen, 1582), sigs. M8v, D8v.

⁴⁵ de Grenada, *Of prayer*. Brumeau was one of a handful of sympathetic Parisian printers who included Jean Nafield and Guillaume Bichon: Charles Giry-Deloison, "France and Elizabethan England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (2004): 223–42.



Plate 6. Christ and followers bearing crosses, in De Grenada, *Of prayer*, titlepage. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

Although fifteenth-century England had witnessed a spike in devotion to the sufferings of Christ, such piety did not end with the Reformation. The English Catholic community continued to localize the pains and turmoil of Christ within their own experiences, particularly as their status in England grew increasingly threatened. De Grenada's *Of prayer* was immensely popular in England with Protestants and Catholics, but the edition by Brumeau is clearly intended for the crypto-Catholic and recusant communities struggling to survive.⁴⁶ The book, along with a handful of other devotional works translated into English in the 1580s, was the only spiritual succour available to many English Catholics, particularly those who could read only English.

The octavo devotionals from Carter's press also served as popular sermons at times and in places where Catholic voices could not speak out.⁴⁷ Where pre-Reformation texts emphasized the terrible torments that

⁴⁶ Ceri Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing, 1580 to 1603* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson, 1995), 76.

⁴⁷ Deborah Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 79.

Christ endured, post-Reformation works stressed the meditative methods that readers could and should use to partake in the *imitatio Christi*. De Grenada writes,

What might our Sauior now thinke, when he sawe him selfe beset on euerie side, with such a number of sonnes, after the ende of his tormentes, and Martirdome vpon the crosse? What might that preious oliue thinke, when it sawe rownde abowte her so many, and such goodly braunches shootinge out on euerie syde?⁴⁸

These works were as much instructive and didactic as they were devotional. They provided, however, much spiritual sustenance. One reader, likely a nun from the exiled Syon Abbey, found the image of Christ's flagellation (plate 7) so moving that she wrote, "Lord take not from me thy holy grace, but helpe me here ... that in heaven I may have a resting place."⁴⁹ Moreover, the most striking aspect of Brumeau's edition is found in the several images of the sacraments that it offered readers, portraying the fundamental ceremonies of the Catholic faith. Two images of the Mass and one image of Confession were printed several times in *Of prayer* (plates 7, 8). The post-Reformation Catholic community experienced a drastic reduction in their ability to access both clergy and the Eucharist. While suffering the torments of martyrdom for Christ was an ideal that only a few Catholics attained, participation in the holy Mass was something that every Catholic should regularly enjoy. For Catholics, however, their inability to attend Mass was one the most problematic results of the Reformation. Not only priests and chapels were in short supply, but also the liturgical elements necessary for the ritual of the Mass: chalice, altar, icons, etc. The fact that English Catholics were caught hoarding such objects and, conversely, that Protestants felt compelled to hunt them down is indicative of their significance. The difficulties in conducting the Mass produced what Alexandra Walsham has described as a new geography of holy places, as Catholics carved out locations for the Mass in the natural landscape away from prying Protestant eyes.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ De Grenada, *Of prayer*, sig. R3v.

⁴⁹ De Grenada, *Of prayer*, sig. K2v (Copy in the Syon Abbey Collection at the University of Exeter Library: Syon Abbey 1582/LUI).

⁵⁰ Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 217–25; Andrew Spicer, "'God Will Have a House': Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England," in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 207–30.



Plate 7. Flagellation, in De Grenada, *Of prayer*, sig. K2v. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

The pragmatic need for these images should not be understated. The sacraments were among the first aspects of the faith that exiled Catholics defended in the early Elizabethan period. In *The Parliament of Chryste* (c. 1566) Thomas Heskins, writing in Antwerp, carefully documented



Plate 8. A monk kneeling before an altar, in De Grenada, *Of prayer*, sig. E4v. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

the Biblical and patristic foundations for the sacraments, particularly the Eucharist, as something necessary to faith and practice.⁵¹ Heskins and his cohort had good reason to fear, for the sacraments were already closely scrutinized by even the most sympathetic of reformers. Less sympathetic voices turned to mocking and vitriol. In *The pedegrewe of heretiques* (c. 1566), John Bartlett identified the Eucharist as a keystone of Catholic heresy. The infamous, and sometime fraudulent, puritan exorcist John

⁵¹ Thomas Heskins, *The Parliament of Chryste* (Antwerp, 1566). For an overview of the place of the sacraments in early modern Catholicism see Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 163–201.

Darrel mocked the Jesuit practice of using the Eucharist, along with relics and the image of the *Agnus Dei*, in the detection of demoniacs.⁵²

The first image that accompanies the meditation for Monday morning in Brumeau's edition of De Grenada's *Of prayer* portrays a solitary monk kneeling before an altar displaying a Crucifixion scene and an open book (plate 8). In the second, before a similar altar, the celebrant priest performs the Mass as two kneeling figures prepare to receive the Eucharist (plate 9). On either side, priests hear confession and offer absolution.⁵³ Both images are accompanied by instructions for the reader to be reminded of the importance and significance of the Mass, as the "greatest [of] pledges and tokens of his loue."⁵⁴ De Grenada directed the reader to contemplate the Ten Commandments and the seven deadly sins alongside these images, and the reader was also reminded of the transformative power of the Mass, for "with such words" the believer "is forthwith towched, and stricken with this loue."⁵⁵ Similarly, Scupoli reminded faithful Catholics that the Eucharist was a source of spiritual sustenance and energy as an "aid to destroy thy euil inclina|tions," which is best done by meditating before partaking in the body of Christ.⁵⁶

The sacraments came to be seen not only as signs of God's faithfulness but also, through participation, as signifiers of a person's faith in God. To deny any of the sacraments was considered the "Thirde signe & token of false Pro|phetes, heretikes and Schismatiks." The French theologian Jean d'Albin de Valsergues condemned any reformers who stood

against the reall presence of Christe his bodye in the holy Eucharist, against y^e blessed sacrifice of the Masse propitiatorye both for the liue & the deade, against penaunce, and worthy fruites therof, by fasting, watche, prayer, and all straightnes of life, against vowes, in|uocation of Saintes, prayer for sou|les departed, and finally agaynst the churche it selfe, flatlye denying, that Christe hath here vpon the earth any Spouse or visible churche.⁵⁷

⁵² Bartlett, *The petegrewe of heretiques*, 18v; John Darrel, *A true narration of the strange and greuous vexation by the Devil, of 7. persons in Lancashire* (London, 1600), 21v. See also Thomas Bell, *The suruey of popery vwherein the reader may cleerely behold, not onely the originall and daily incrementes of papistrie, with an euident confutation of the same* (London, 1596).

⁵³ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.552–53.

⁵⁴ De Grenada, *Of prayer*, 44.

⁵⁵ De Grenada, *Of prayer*, 44.

⁵⁶ Scupoli, *The spiritual conflict*, sig. H6v.

⁵⁷ The English translation of Valsergues's book was one of William Carter's first publications: Jean d'Albin de Valsergues, *A notable discourse, plainelye and truly discussing, who are the right ministers of the Catholike Church* (London, 1575), sig. B8v.



Plate 9. Sacraments of mass and confession, De Grenada, *Of prayer*, sig. R8v.
[Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

This correlation between participation in the sacraments and the truths of the faith is present in the substance of Catholic prayer books. De Grenada's *Of prayer* presents the Passion of Christ first and then the mysteries of the faith in the second half of the book. The order of the mysteries—Mass, Death, Last Rites, Funeral Procession, Last Judgment, etc.—directly correlates to the order of the Passion—Last Supper, Trial and Torments, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. Loarte exhorted his readers that to read one's life as a reflection of Christ's was to "taste of his moste sweete fruite."⁵⁸ There is some similarity here with the general discourse on martyrdom in which Protestants participated, which compared the devotee to the Passion of Christ. In these Catholic devotionals, however, the portrayal

⁵⁸ Gaspar Loarte, *The godly garden of Gethsemanie* (London, 1580), sig. Q5v.

of the martyr or suffering believer as similar to Christ is pitched at a much more intimate level.⁵⁹

Catholic readers were encouraged to enter into the progress of the Passion, to relate directly to the experiences of the Saviour. Across from the image of the flagellation in *Of prayer*, (plate 7) De Grenada ordered his readers to meditate on the Passion in such a way that one could, “enter with thy spirite into Pilates concistorie, and carrie with thee great storie of teeres in a readiness ... to bewaile such things, as there thou shalt both here, and see.”⁶⁰ Scupoli develops this theme by directing his readers to devote at least one half hour of prayer to applying the different aspects of the Passion to their own lives,

how our Lord was spoiled of his garments most cruelly, & his sacred flesh rent, of cleauing fast vnto them: how the crowne of thorne was taken from his head; and afterwards fastned vpon the same again: how he was nailed vpon the crosse: how hanging [...] the hard wood, he was lifted vp on high, with extre[...]me grieffe of all his most sacred wounds, and of all his most holy body.

This allowed the devout reader to move from simply thinking and reading about the sufferings of Christ to “passe to his moste sacred soule.”⁶¹

The Crucifixion and the Holy Monogram (I.H.S) were certainly the images most widely revered. Images of the Crucifixion played a central role in late-Tudor Catholic devotionals, as readers were encouraged to identify with the sentiments of the poet Gervase Markham,

I would be nailed to the selfesame crosse,
With those same nailes, and in the selfesame place,
Where bloudie Iewes did butcher up my losse:
His speare should wound my hart, his thorns my face,
His whips my bodie, I would tast all smart,
To tread his steps in an embrued hart.⁶²

⁵⁹ e.g., Thomas Freeman, “‘Imitatio Christi with a Vengeance’: The Politicization of Martyrdom in Early Modern England,” in *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, 1400–1700*, eds. Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 35–69; Susannah Brietz Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 121–29; Gregory, Brad, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 276–87.

⁶⁰ De Grenada, *Of prayer*, sig. K3r.

⁶¹ Scupoli, *The spiritual conflict*, sig. G3v.

⁶² Gervase Markham, *Marie Magdalens lamentations for the losse of her master Iesus* (London, 1600), sig. B3v. Although Markham was almost certainly a Catholic, his poems were, as Allison Shell has commented, “equally acceptable to Catholic and to Protestant” (Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination*, 80).

Similar attitudes can be found in Robert Southwell's poems "Man to the Wound in Christs side" and "The Virgin to Christ on the Cross." It is important not to think of this religious culture as a static extension of the sort of Catholic piety produced before the Reformation. Late-Tudor images of the Crucifixion printed in Catholic books reveal minor shifts in emphasis away from earlier representations.

Loarte's *Instructions and advertisements* (c. 1579) printed by Carter, illustrated a series of meditations on the rosary. Since Loarte was generally considered one of the more important devotional writers, even when compared to Robert Parsons by Protestants, his manual is revealing in what it tells us of the ideal prayer life.⁶³ His simple but busy image of the Crucifixion (plate 10) was recycled twice, appearing for the last time in an English secret-press publication, *An epistle on the person of Christ* (c. 1595).⁶⁴ Christ is at the forefront and occupies the central portion of the woodcut, but his is by no means the only presence. His death occurs alongside the angry mob, the gambling for his robes, and the swooning of the Virgin. The contemplative reader was expected not only to meditate on the picture but also to read through the stories developing in the scene. The depiction is much more narrative than earlier images of the Crucifixion, which often tended towards the singular and iconic. The change in the imagery represents not a sterilization of the image but rather a development in the ways these depictions were to be seen. The unknown translator of Cornelis de Vos's *The Rosarie of our Ladie* (c. 1600) captured the essence of this practical application: "by diligent vewing and beholding the pictures here placed, evne one may better conceiue and consider the Mysteries by them represented, and be perhaps more moued to deuotion by sight therof then by only reading."⁶⁵

This sort of image was an increasingly common means of representing the death of Christ in a depiction that the viewer was to read and study and meditate upon. By contrast, earlier images present much more striking, and iconographic, pictures of the Crucifixion where the solitary, or nearly solitary, figure of Christ is the focus of meditation. Oftentimes, later emblems resembled these images. The printing house at Syon Abbey published Richard Whitforde's *Holy instructions and teachings* (c. 1541)

⁶³ Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric*, 27.

⁶⁴ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.546–47; Gaspar Loarte, *Instructions and aduertisements, how to meditate the misteries of the rosarie* (London, 1579), sig. H8r.

⁶⁵ Cornelis de Vos, "Preface," in *The Rosarie of our Ladie* (London, 1600), opposite sig. A1r.



Plate 10. Crucifixion, in Loarte, *Instructions and advertisements*, sig. H8r. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

with an image of the Crucifixion that was carefully embedded in the Holy Monogram superimposed on a rose⁶⁶ (plate 11). The inclusion of

⁶⁶ Richard Whitforde, *Here followeth dyuers holy instrucion and teachynges* (London, 1541).

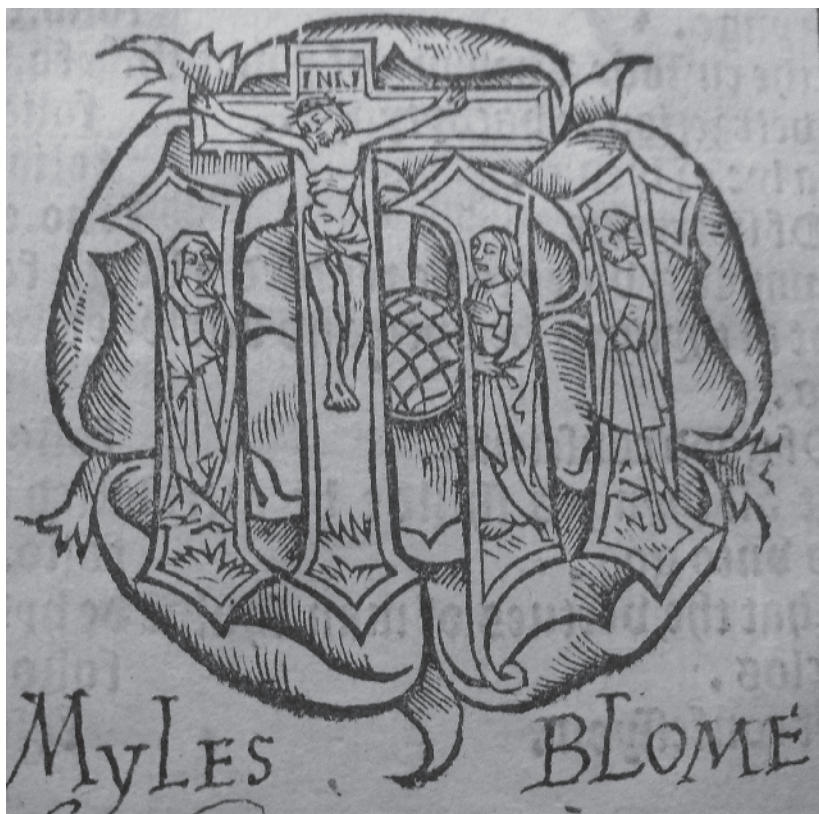


Plate 11. Crucifixion, in Richard Whitforde, *Here followeth dyuers holy instrucionys and teachynges* (London: Thomas Petyt, 1541), sig. Y6v. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

narratives and events within enlarged lettering was not uncommon; in fact, it was a practice adopted in Protestant print, as we shall see in later chapters. Here Christ is accompanied by three figures, but his depiction stands out as the single purpose of the representation and not merely as the most prominent among several scenes. Iconographic portrayals were also to be found in later woodcuts of the 1540s. At the end of the eighth article of *The King's Book* (c. 1543), printed by John Mayler, an image reproduced a popular emblem of Christ as the Word made Flesh, which contained the "VERBUM," the Holy Spirit as the dove, and the central figure of Christ with nailed hands bleeding into an open chalice⁶⁷ (plate 12).

⁶⁷ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.281–82; *Christian Man, known as the King's Book: A necessary doctrine* (London, 1543), sig. D1r.

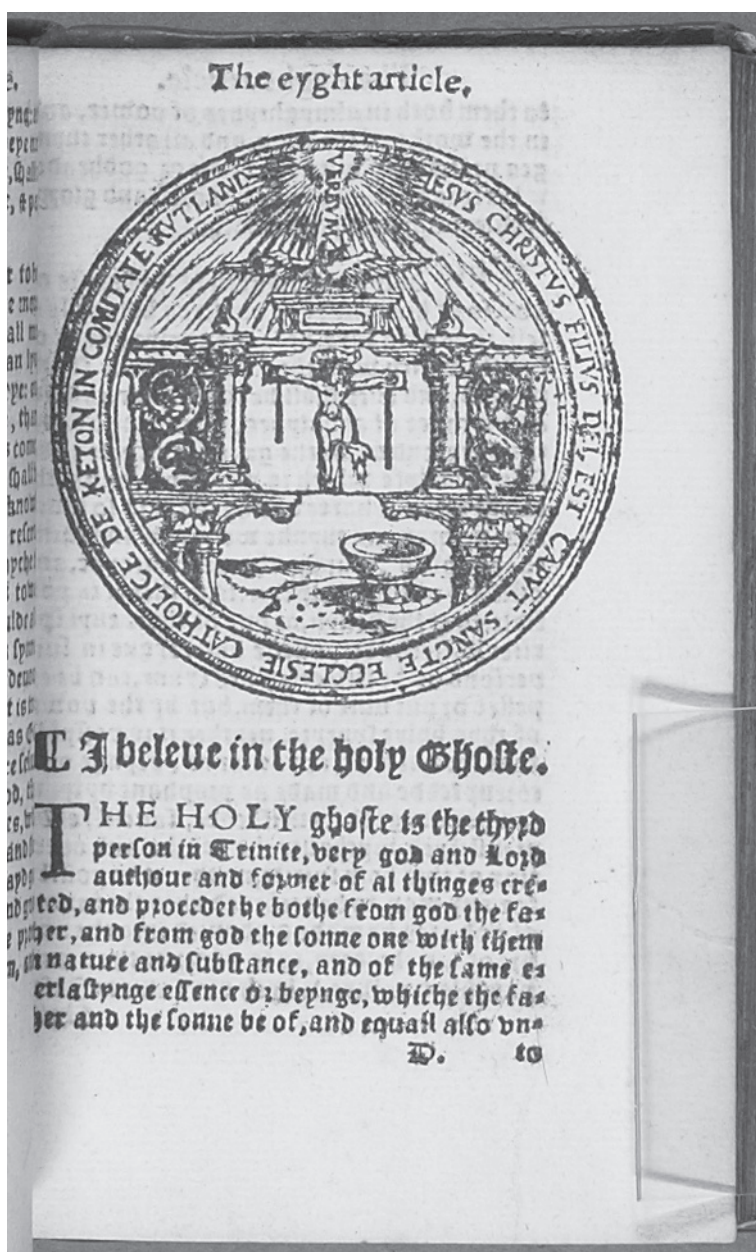


Plate 12. A symbolic image of Christ as the Word made Flesh, in *Christian Man, known as the King's Book: A necessary doctrine* (London, 1543), sig. D1r. [By permission of Lambeth Palace Library]

Most striking in this depiction are its visual similarities with the older images of the Mass of St Gregory, where Christ's blood is depicted flowing from his pierced hands into the chalice of the Mass. The graphic representation of the transubstantiated elements was a clear reference point for Catholic identity, and a blatant challenge to Protestant dogma.

While such iconic scenes were not abandoned by later Catholic print, the narrative Crucifixion did take precedence over them. More common in terms of printed images as icons are the representation of the Virgin and the increasingly popular images of the Holy Monogram. Susan Wabuda explains that the Holy Monogram "incorporated an advantageous measure of abstraction, which appealed to Protestants needy of visual representation but wary of Catholic idolatry."⁶⁸ However, it was Catholic, not Protestant, print culture that effectively incorporated this symbol into its visual repertoire. In a way, the Catholic tradition that was established with more mystical institutions like the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus, with its prominent patronage by Lady Margaret Beaufort, prevented any sustained Protestant adoption of this symbol.⁶⁹ When the I.H.S. was emblazoned upon the printed page in the sixteenth century, the numinous of Christ's power was invested in the image. Its importance in late-medieval piety has been traced by Robert Lutton in *Jesus Masses and other meetings for the Holy Name*. Although the popularity of the Mass and the cult was not evenly distributed across every English town and county, it is clear that this pious movement garnered a great deal of support.⁷⁰ The I.H.S. came to be related in Catholic circles to the palpable power of Christ's name, as people prayed, kneeled, cursed, and believed in the name of Jesus (plate 13). It was employed by the Society of Jesus in its literature, and by the end of the sixteenth century Protestants were beginning to identify the form as an obvious logo for the Jesuits. It also was attached to both the Dominican Luis de Grenada's books and Gaspar de Loarte's English translations, becoming a more general indicator of

⁶⁸ Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 175.

⁶⁹ Elizabeth New, "The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England, with Special Reference to the Fraternity in St. Paul's Cathedral, London c. 1450–1558" (PhD thesis, University of London, 1999); Claire McIlroy, *The English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 177–79.

⁷⁰ Robert Lutton, "Geographies and Materialities of Piety: Reconciling Competing Narratives of Religious Change in Pre-Reformation and Reformation England," in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c.1400–1640*, eds. Robert Lutton and Elizabeth Salter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 11–40.



Plate 13. Holy Monogram, in Loarte, *Instructions and advertisements*. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

Catholic piety in print, rather than a logo segregated for Jesuit works.⁷¹ The image of the I.H.S. that was reprinted several times in Loarte's

⁷¹ The Holy Monogram was used in the frontispiece for the Jesuit martyr Robert Southwell's collection of poems, which went through three rapid editions, *Saint Peters complaynt* (1595, 1597, 1599). It was most likely published for the church papist and crypto-Catholic ranks, as it was printed by Gabriel Cawood, son of the Catholic printer John Cawood. The top portion of the frontispiece contained two kneeling women on either side of the I.H.S., with the nails and thorns of the Crucifixion below: Robert Southwell, *Saint Peters complaynt With other poems* (London, 1595).

Instructions and advertisements highlights the close relationship between the Holy Name and the Passion, as the I.H.S detailed with a cross and three nails piercing a heart is surrounded in the border by the instruments of the Passion.⁷² Also, it is important to recognize the transition in Catholic visual culture that the I.H.S typifies. Although this image of the Holy Monogram is certainly much more devotional and iconographic than anything printed by Protestants, it contains a level of abstraction that is not typical of pre-Reformation images. Here Christ is represented by a third party, his initials, a depiction that is equally communicative but much less personal and explicit than earlier scenes.

Conclusion

Before the Reformation, images of the Passion instruments usually surrounded the pictures of Christ as the Man of Sorrows that accompanied printed indulgences. The fact that this traditional combination of images did not survive intact speaks to the impact of the Reformation on Catholic visual culture.⁷³ It would be incorrect to suggest that these changes in traditional Catholic visual culture indicate acceptance of Protestant teaching on idolatry, but there is undoubtedly a correlation between the Reformation and alterations to traditional images. The replacement of Christ with the I.H.S not only reflects the battles with Protestantism but also suggests a subtle shift away from certain pre-Tridentine depictions.⁷⁴

The boundaries and shape of this impact are not entirely clear. Nevertheless, as the following chapters relate, the visual culture described here will become a significant backdrop for Protestant pictures. Sometimes, reformed culture will mimic and borrow, and at other times it will mock and scorn the traditional iconography. Either way, the development of Protestant identity as expressed in its pictures was strongly associated with its relationship with the Catholic community and Catholic print.

Catholics were able to maintain a print culture. Although it was severely limited, the English Catholic community, with assistance from abroad, was by no means a passive spectator of what Joseph Koerner has termed the "reformation of the image." Instead, like the cabal of Catholic scholars who contested the Protestant theology of images, Catholic printers

⁷² Loarte, *Instructions and advertisements*, decorative woodcut [no pagination].

⁷³ Driver, *The Image in Print*, 206–7.

⁷⁴ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 593.

engaged the Reformation at a remarkable pace with an urgency to respond to the threat of reform and shore up the devotion of the Catholic community at large. This response created a minimalist approach to religious visual culture, one that stripped back everything, leaving only the basic necessities for Catholic readers, namely the Virgin and Christ.

CHAPTER FOUR

REPRESENTATIONS OF CHRIST: REFORMING THE *IMITATIO CHRISTI*

The most prominent religious images in Reformation England were of Christ. Both late-medieval and early modern patterns of English piety set the second person of the Trinity at the centre of devotion. Since Catholics and Protestants represented Christ for very different reasons, such images offer fertile terrain in which to explore religious identity, including the continuities and conflicts between various religious beliefs.

This chapter will map out how Protestants intended to represent Christ and how such images of Christ were employed. While images of Christ were often considered susceptible to idolatrous abuse, Christ, the most important figure in the Christian religion, was essential to many New Testament pictures. Images of Christ became fewer in number and a less frequent presence in devotional iconography in the sixteenth century, but Christ continued to be the most widely visualized Biblical figure, and new images appeared regularly until the end of the century. The devotional Christ of the late-medieval period was no longer present to the same degree, but Christ's picture was employed for other equally valuable purposes. Images of a more didactic and pragmatic intent appeared.¹ Christ could be seen in both devotional and non-devotional contexts. He was a symbol of both salvation and moral instruction, and his image could be found in polemical cheap print and large humanist tomes. Many of the traditional motifs like the *imitatio Christi* and the *Agnus Dei* were used with new and invigorated meaning, suggesting that Protestants could not or would not wholly divorce themselves from traditional visual culture.

Protestants and the God-Man

Reformation images of Christ evidence a Protestant effort to refashion the Saviour. In 1524, Martin Luther wrote to the church in Strasbourg to

¹ Richard Williams, "The Reformation of an Icon: Portraits of Christ in Protestant England," in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, eds. Tara Hamling and Richard Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 71–86.

correct radical views—like those of Andreas Karlstadt—that deemphasized Christ's humanity. Luther advocated following Christ, "but not, as Karlstadt does, only to the work of Christ, wherein Christ is held up as an example, which is the least important aspect of Christ, and which makes him comparable to other saints."² Some of these radicals went so far as to deny Christ's humanity, saying that he brought his own body with him from heaven, and other reformers like the Silesian Caspar Schwenckfeld taught that Christ's flesh was a celestial or recreated flesh.³

Certain Catholic teachings about Christ were considered equally misleading. Late-medieval mystics and devotional writers were identified as having over-emphasized the humanity and death of Jesus to the detriment of his divinity.⁴ He was the ultimate sacrifice, as the lamb of God (*Agnus Dei*), the bread and the wine in the Eucharist, the Man of Sorrows, and the suffering Saviour depicted in the *pieta*. As a result, the Incarnation and Passion took precedence over other images of Christ. The impetus behind these devotional works and images was "to bring that great story as close and as vividly to the mind of the reader as possible."⁵ The large body of surviving Christological icons produced in the fifteenth century speak to the increasing preoccupation with and need for this sort of direct access to the suffering Saviour. As mentioned in chapter three, devotion to Christ became highly centralized in his body and suffering.⁶ The highly popular fifteen *Oes* brought prayerful devotees into a place of intimacy with Christ,

² Martin Luther, "Letter to the Christians at Strasbourg in Opposition to the Fanatic Spirit, 1524," in *Luther's Works*, vol. XL, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia, 1975), 70.

³ R. Emmet McLaughlin, "The Radical Reformation," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 6: *Reform and Expansion, 1500–1660*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 37–55; Michael G. Baylor, ed. and trans., *The Radical Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Steven Ozment, *Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973), 223–30.

⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 91–130; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 302–18.

⁵ Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 62–74. The quotation is from Helen White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 144.

⁶ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 45, 236, 281; Robert Lutton, "Geographies and Materialities of Piety: Reconciling Competing Narratives of Religious Change in Pre-Reformation and Reformation England," in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c.1400–1640*, eds. Robert Lutton and Elisabeth Salter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 11–40; David Mateer and Elizabeth New, "‘In Nomine Jesu’: Robert Fayrfax and the Guild of the Holy Name in St Paul's Cathedral," *Music & Letters* 81 (2000): 507–19.

with verses like "Oh Jesus, true and fruitful vine ... your delicate flesh faded and the moisture of your bowels dried up and the marrow of your bones withered; by this most bitter Passion and most precious pouring out of blood."⁷

Reformers interpreted these practices as too narrow for, in their eyes, the practices fashioned Christ into little more than a suffering body, rather than the Son of God. Calvin believed that in the end both radical Protestants and devoted Catholics "dissect rather than distinguish between the two natures" of Christ, and confused people by devising "a double Christ."⁸ This neglected the totality of Christ "as God and man, possessing natures which are united but not confused, we conclude that he is our Lord and the true Son of God, even according to his humanity, though not by means of his humanity."⁹ Protestants wished to firmly establish Christ as the God-man, not merely as a figure of continual suffering but as one whose suffering translated into an eternal mediation between God and humanity. This understanding was not necessarily at odds with Catholic doctrine, but the conscious effort to reaffirm a correct understanding of what Christ is determined how reformers discussed and represented the Saviour, aligning both their religious discourse and visual culture with particular goals. The humanity of Christ could not be considered a means to an end anymore than it could be glorified as the primary symbol of Christ. Instead, both divinity and humanity were necessary, making any depiction of Christ all the more complicated.

Protestant images of Christ demonstrate an attempt to reconceptualize Christ in the minds of readers. The images themselves were, however, problematic. The strong desire to focus upon Christ as a unified, dual-natured person raised the question of how, if at all, Christ could be portrayed without depicting his divinity, and whether such images would automatically be idolatrous. The Protestant difficulty with Christ's image became apparent in the first two decades of the English Reformation. On one hand, in

⁷ Charity Scott-Stokes, ed., *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England: Selected Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 73. See also Ellen Ross, *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁸ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge (London: 1845; later edition Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998 [reprint, 1st ed. 1989]), 418.

⁹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 418. See also Stephen Edmondson, *Calvin's Christology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Richard Muller, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

1536 Henry VIII's Ten Articles explained that it was good to have the image of Christ in churches, so that "we may be also many ways provoked to remember his painful and cruel passion, and also to consider ourselves, when we behold the said image, and to condemn and abhor our sin."¹⁰ On the other hand, Protestants in the 1540s, influenced by doctrine from Zurich and Geneva, entirely condemned church images of Christ. Thomas Cranmer, under Edward VI, moved away from the Articles, which he had helped to draft, stating: "And yf they dyd their reverence to christ and not to the image, seing that Christ is in heaven, to heaven they shuld loke up, wher christ him self is, and not gase upon an ymage."¹¹ Elizabethan homilies went further, insisting that it was wrong to make images of Christ, particularly for churches, because, "no true Image can be made of Christes body, for it is unknowen now" and any attempt was considered to be "a lye made of hym."¹²

Condemned to be excluded from churches, the image of Christ also presented significant problems elsewhere. The most serious question was how to visualize the figure of Christ without committing idolatry by making an image of God. The issue hinged upon the issue of depicting his humanity without depicting his divinity, which could lead to a lie, or worse, to the Nestorian heresy of separating the two natures of Christ. This problem was compounded by the fact that as Theodore Beza explained, "that humanitie, which he tooke, is not subsistent in it self, but in the person of the Word." He continued, however,

the humanitie which the sonne of God took, cannot as a part be compounded with the Godhead of the Word taking it: to which for the encreasing it, nothing can be added, and from which, to the diminishing therof, nothing can be taken, and with which as with the onlie infinite essence nothing can in that manner be conjoined, which deitie, to conclude, cannot without great absurditie be called the forme of any creature.¹³

One could not separate the two, but nor could one combine the two as if combining two physical elements. This union was so fixed in a static

¹⁰ Quoted in Phillips, *The Reformation of Images*, 57.

¹¹ Thomas Cranmer, *Catechismus, that is to say, a shorte instruction into Christian religion for the synghuler commoditie and profyte of childe[n] and yong people* (London, 1548), sigs. D7r–D7v.

¹² Anon., "An homilie against perill of Idolatrie, and superstitious decking of Churches," in *Certaine Sermons or HOMILIES Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547–1571)*, eds. Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1968), sig. 2D2v.

¹³ Theodore Beza, *Job expounded by Theodore Beza, partly in manner of a commentary, partly in manner of a paraphrase* (Cambridge, [1589?]), sigs. D4r–D4v.

conjunction that nothing could be added to or taken from it. To depict one without the other was absurd. Even William Perkins stumbled in explaining this union in terms of representation, arguing that Christ's flesh "is received into the unitie of the second person. But, how to be adored? Not directly as the Godhead: but in oblique manner, by reason of the union with the godhead." Christ's humanity was to be contemplated and shown reverence like any other symbol of a monarch's authority (e.g. a sceptre or a crown), as a representation of his power but not an actual part of his being. Here, however, Perkins was forced to retreat to avoid Nestorianism. He explained that while to worship the humanity on the level of divinity is idolatrous, the humanity is "not as a garment, which may be put off and on, but inseperably as a part of the second person: so as the Mediatour worshipped shall be God-man or Man-god in the unitie of one person."¹⁴

Fortunately, in his *Common places*, Peter Martyr Vermigli offered a more elegant answer. First, Vermigli recognized that the humanity of Christ like all physical subjects could properly be depicted: "he may be resembled, and painted out. For that is not against the nature of the thing; seeing he was verie man; neither against the art of painting, which may imitate bodies." He assessed several of the complications of depicting Christ and noted the dangers, but he ultimately dismissed the opposition:

if it were true, it should not be lawfull to picture anie man, bicause the soule, which is spirit, cannot be expressed. And they which describe the humane nature of the Lord, doo not exclude the divine nature from the understanding; neither doo they shew or allow, that the humanitie of Christ, either was, or is destitute of his godhead.¹⁵

Vermigli confessed, however, that this did not validate all pictures of Christ. Erring on the side of caution, he wrote, "The lawe standeth in ambiguitie, which seemeth to signifie, that he should not be expressed in the pavement," however, "as touching his humane nature, there are no firme reasons brought" why Christ cannot be depicted.¹⁶

A possible solution to this conundrum was not fully exploited by the Reformation. The Holy Monogram (I.H.S) would have provided an ideal

¹⁴ William Perkins, *The workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins. The first volume* (London, 1626), 701.

¹⁵ Pietro Vermigli (Peter Martyr), *The common places of Peter Martyr*, trans. Anthonie Marten (London, 1585), 340.

¹⁶ Vermigli, *The common places*, 340–41.

supplement, much as the Tetragrammaton did for images of God, as we shall see in chapter six.¹⁷ The Reformation failed to take advantage of the Holy Monogram, and by the mid-sixteenth century the Society of Jesus had adopted the I.H.S as its emblem, stamping it upon their rosaries, printed books, and other paraphernalia. In 1571 John Bridges bemoaned the misuse of Christ's name by Jesuits, saying, "Yea of what value do they esteeme the death of Jesus Christe, but to take awaye the bare name of a thing?" Fifteen years later, in his debates with the Jesuit Edmund Campion the controversial preacher William Charke complained, "they abuse the moste blessed name of Jesus, for a colour of their blasphemous practise, which is to roote out the Gospell of Jesus, and to bring in the heresie, and superstition of poperie."¹⁸ Even so, there are a few examples of the Holy Monogram in Elizabethan printed images. Thomas Bentley's devotional *A monument of matrones*, printed by Henry Denham in 1582, employed the I.H.S for several of its border pieces. Subsequently, these were copied by Peter Short, who printed them in seven works during the 1590s and early 1600s.¹⁹ Also, the Holy Monogram was used in Richard Vennard's *The right way to heaven*. In one copy of this work, a reader has painstakingly coloured the several appearances of the Holy Monogram, and has also drawn a lavish picture of Queen Elizabeth crowned by angels.²⁰

Despite this failure of Protestants to adopt the I.H.S fully, the Reformation overcame many of the fears surrounding portraying Christ in any shape or place. It seems that the tradition of depicting Christ overwhelmed the theological uncertainty that plagued reformed thought. Certainly, there is evidence of a Protestant defence of these images, but they seem to have been almost impossible to deny.

¹⁷ Lutton, "Geographies and Mentalities," 11–39; Hugo Blake, Geoff Egan, John Hurst, and Elizabeth New, "From Popular Devotion to Resistance and Revival in England: The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Reformation," in *The Archaeology of Reformation, 1480–1580*, eds. David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), 186–93.

¹⁸ John Bridges, *A sermon, preached at Paules Crosse on the Monday in Whitson* (London, 1571), 127; William Charke, *A treatise against the Defense of the censure* (Cambridge, 1586), 180.

¹⁹ R.B. McKerrow and F.S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1932 [for 1931]), plates 176, 177, and 182. It should also be noted that, as Margaret Aston has brought to light, the Holy Monogram was used in a Scottish banner carried at Carberry Hill on 15 June 1567. It depicts the young Prince James kneeling at the body of his dead father and praying up towards the Monogram, asking God for vengeance: Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 24.

²⁰ Richard Vennard, *The right way to heaven* (London, 1601) [British Library, C.53.C.12].

From Corpus Christi to Christ Displayed

Reformation England saw the abolition of the *Corpus Christi* play and most other cycle dramas so important in late-medieval culture. These celebrations, which had continually reinforced Christ's importance, were unceremoniously undone. Since religious cycle plays "always retained a liturgical component" and "strong didactic orientation," they seemed to have been too heavily rooted in Catholicism for English reformers to tolerate.²¹ John Bale's satirical anti-Catholic dramas began a systematic reformulation of the place and purpose of drama. Bale's plays mixed anti-Catholic jabs with historical revisionism to produce something distinctly Tudor and Protestant.²² A similar reformulation took place with the images of Christ whereby they were removed from places of worship and employed in printed books, interior decoration, and other non-ecclesiastical contexts.

While anti-Catholic propaganda in England did not reach its zenith until the seventeenth century, the country certainly had its fill of such vitriol in the Tudor period, and the image of Christ was a useful one in these assaults.²³ One example is the pamphlet *A newyeares gifte dedicated to the Popes Holinesse* (c. 1579) by Bernard Garter (plate 14). The text was a general condemnation of papal authority arguing for the divine right of royal supremacy. Avoiding the treacherous topic of the Queen's potential marriage to the Duke of Anjou, *A newyeares gifte* focused upon Catholic plots from abroad, which were evidenced in the popish trinkets and objects of Catholic devotion that were regularly and illegally smuggled into England.²⁴ It is important to note that 1579 was the high point of William Carter's successful Catholic press, with its several illustrated editions of Catholic devotionals, which suggests that there was an expanding market for the kind of Catholic material *A newyeares gifte* was set to attack.

Near the end of *A newyeares gifte*, the "popes merchandize" was displayed in a foldout woodcut. By the 1570s, such foldout woodcuts were a

²¹ Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 274.

²² For more on Bale see L.P. Fairfield, *John Bale: Mythmaker of the English Reformation* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1976).

²³ Much of the popular propaganda centred around Elizabeth as a providential monarch; see Alexandra Walsham, "'A Very Deborah?': The Myth of Elizabeth I as a Providential Monarch," in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, eds. Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), 143–70, and Peter Lake, "Antipopery: The Structure of Prejudice," in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603–1642*, eds. Richard Cust and Anne Hughes (London: Longman, 1989), 72–106.

²⁴ Alexander Lacy received a license to print Garter's *A newyeares gifte* in 1565, although no copy of this edition is extant: TRCS, I.302.

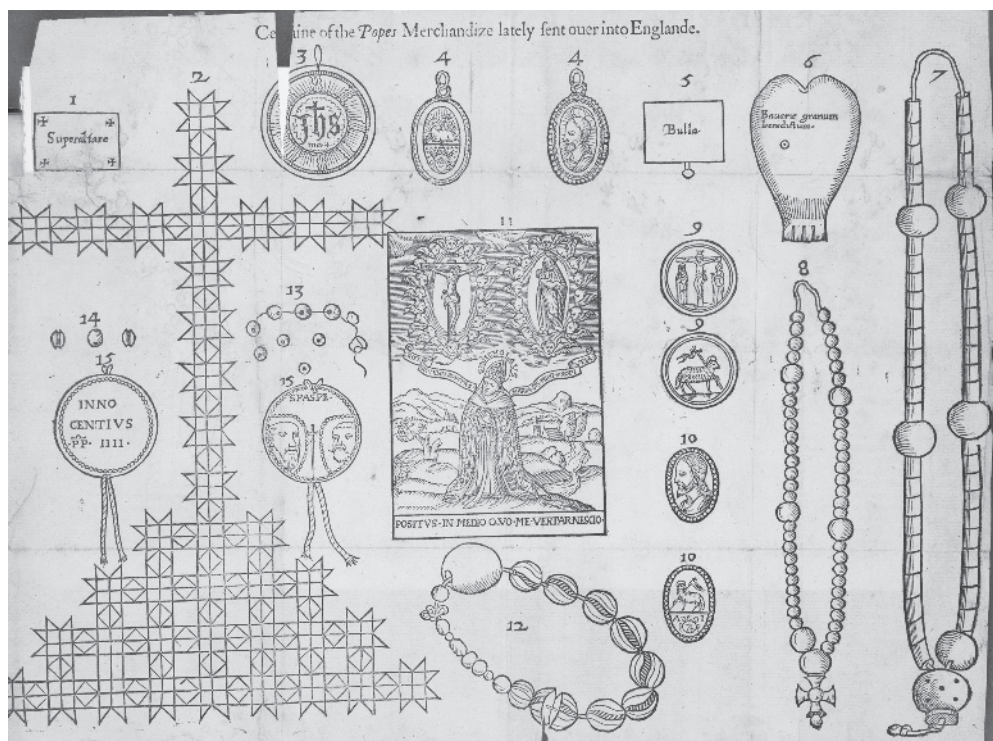


Plate 14. A Newyeares gifte [foldout woodcut], in Bernard Garter, *A newyeares gifte dedicated to the Popes Holinesse* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1569), sig. H2r. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

staple of Protestant visual propaganda, and that in *A newyeares gifte* portrays fifteen different types of Catholic merchandise, including depictions of the *Agnus Dei*, the crucifix, images of the Virgin and Crucifixion, the Holy Monogram, rosaries, and images of Christ.²⁵ John Bale had warned that Catholic clergy “have counterfeted Christes sufferinges, in crossinge one hande over an other, and in spreddinge theyr armes abroad... [and in] hundred toyes more.”²⁶ By the 1570s, Catholic paraphernalia

²⁵ Anthony Munday’s work includes a foldout woodcut of four scenes from the life of the martyr Richard Atkins in Rome: Anthony Munday, *The English romayne life, discovering* (London, 1583). Also I.L., *The birth, purpose, and mortall wound of the Romish holie League* (London, 1589). This contained a foldout woodcut of a drawn map of England and Europe with eleven different scenes of political events of the period including the Duke of Guise’s campaigns, Cardinal William Allen’s seditious libels against the Queen, and the Spanish Armada.

²⁶ John Bale, *The apology of Johan Bale agaynste a ranke papist* (London, 1550), sigs. A8r–A8v.

manufactured on the continent was often discovered in English Catholic households, suggesting that *A newyeares gifte* was something more than propaganda.²⁷ Although many of the reports are vague as to what was found, a few are quite specific. In 1583, a search performed by the officials of the Bishop of Winchester at the house of Lady West discovered “two Agnus Dei, and many other popish stuff and relics.” In 1587, William Goodwyn and Bridette Palmer were reported to have had “pictures of the Virgin and Saviour,” along with several books printed at the Catholic college in Douai.²⁸

It is likely that *A newyeares gifte* served as a visual aid in identifying such Catholic items. Many of the existing copies of the pamphlet lack the fold-out woodcut, suggesting that it was removed from the work to be either used or displayed in a more public setting.²⁹ This sort of pragmatic image lacked the grotesque mockery that could be found in other anti-Catholic prints. There are no allusions to devilry or allegories of the corruption and filth of Catholicism. Dispelling with the usual trappings of propaganda, the pamphlet provided a useful display for the seizure of papist merchandise. Moreover, by identifying the objects as merchandise, *A newyeares gifte* attached certain economic connotations of greed and idolatrous materialism to them, returning to the common Protestant accusation that Catholic images were wasteful and decadent.

Moreover, *A newyeares gifte* employed the practice current in early modern debate of displaying something in order to refute it.³⁰ Perhaps the most popular example of this method was John Foxe’s *Actes and monuments*, which reprinted Catholic sermons, letters, and debates with the intent of exhibiting their faults. Reginald Scot’s *The discoverie of witchcraft* (c. 1584) debunked magic by recounting various spells and potions and provided woodcuts displaying magical signs and symbols, only to refute

²⁷ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 179; Richard Williams, “Religious Pictures and Sculpture in Elizabethan England: Censure, Appreciation and Devotion,” (PhD thesis, University of London, 2003), 244–47.

²⁸ CSPD, 135, 446.

²⁹ The copy at the Bodleian Library was bound with two other works in the late-sixteenth century, one of which is a Catholic devotional, but the woodcut has been cleanly removed, most likely sometime before the binding (Bodleian Library. 4.N.16.Th.).

³⁰ Alexandra Walsham, “The Spider and the Bee: The Perils of Printing for Refutation in Tudor England,” in *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*, ed. John N. King (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 163–90. Also see Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: Scholar Press, 1977).

their effects.³¹ In this tradition, *A newyeares gifte* demonstrated how Catholic merchandise was abused. Among the more popular images signifying Christ was a pendant with the Holy Monogram inscribed in it, which, Garter explained, Catholics believed could defend people “from théeves, and all other daungers in travaile, either by water or lande.” Also, the *Agnus Dei* was thought to have “as gret vertue as the bloud of Christ” and “it suppresseth thunder, lightning and tempest.”³² These explanations were necessary because it was not enough to know what these things looked like; a good Protestant needed to be informed about the false beliefs that surrounded them. One of Bishop Jewel’s sermons focused on the last false belief, about the *Agnus Dei*. He preached, “yet I will show you one of their night-birds, lately hatched in the nest of all superstition. It is the *Agnus Dei*: here it is. It was lately consecrated by the holy father and sent from Rome.” After explaining the miraculous powers of the charm to ward off storms and tempests, he exclaimed, “O merciful God! What hath the pope to do with lightning.”³³ Like the foldout woodcut, Jewel’s sermon displayed the image to make a spectacle of the false belief it engineered.

Transforming an image of Christ into a display of ridicule created a dangerous ambiguity. Depictions of Christ were also revered by Protestants and continued to appear in printed devotional images. To employ them in acts of mockery, even when the Pope was the focus of that ridicule, further complicated the issue of how to define and describe the parameters of what was visually acceptable. Ironically, after John Jewel’s death in 1584, an *Agnus Dei* woodcut was printed on the titlepage of his *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*.³⁴ And a similar example, the familiar image of the sacrificial lamb in Nicholas Hilliard’s elaborate frontispiece, became a commonplace titlepage for Elizabethan theological texts in the 1580s and 1590s.³⁵ It appeared in the sermons of John Calvin, Peter Vermigli’s *Common places*, and the second edition of Holinshed’s *Chronicles* (c. 1587). Finally, at the end of Elizabeth’s reign, two Bible frontispieces depicted Christ as the Lamb of God, similar to the *Agnus Dei*,

³¹ Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde, *The beehive of the Romish church* (London, 1579); Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584), introduction by Rev. Montague Summers (New York: Dover, 1972).

³² G., B., *A newyeares gifte dedicated to the Popes Holinesse, and all Catholikes addicted to the Sea of Rome* (London, 1569), sig. H2r.

³³ John Jewel, *Works of John Jewel*, vol. II, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge, 1847), 1045.

³⁴ John Jewel, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1584).

³⁵ McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland*, plate 148.

positioned between the Tetragrammaton and the dove, to represent the Trinity.³⁶

Another image of Christ that received mixed reviews was his portrait. While often considered suspect, portraits of Christ were used by many Protestants as learning tools, to counter the false images of Catholicism.³⁷ Some of the more frequent representations of the true appearance of Christ were distributed on coins and in paintings and printed images. Popularized by the letter falsely attributed to Publius Lentulus, Pontius Pilate's successor, which described the physical countenance of Christ, the image and its description became a recurring artefact among believers. As Richard Williams has demonstrated, the Lentulus letter provided authorization for Protestants who desired accurate portrayals of Christ.³⁸ The image was published four times in seventeenth-century broadsheets and had first appeared in English print in Stephen Batman's translation *The doome warning all men to the judgements* (c. 1581) (plate 15). Printed in quarto by Henry Bynneman, the woodcut had apparently been devised by Batman himself to illustrate the Letter of Lentulus, with an image of the Virgin and child on one side of a coin and Christ's profile on the other.³⁹ The context provided by the letter and the civic nature of the coin enabled the depicting of Christ without fear of accusations of idolatry.

Like much of *The doome warning*, even this seemingly civil image had obvious anti-Catholic overtures. Such true appearances of Christ differed drastically from those of the popular late-medieval Veronica images—in which Christ was depicted gazing back at the viewer—which were so closely associated with indulgences.⁴⁰ Here the profile is detached and static. The image followed a description of the Letter of Lentulus and represented the good use of images in pre-Catholic Christianity. More than seventy pages later, the dichotomy between true and false images becomes even more evident with a surreal profile portrait of a head composed of

³⁶ McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland*, plates 231,

233.

³⁷ Williams, "The Reformation of an Icon," 71–86.

³⁸ Williams, "The Reformation of an Icon," 73–74.

³⁹ Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603*, vol. I (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998), 63. It is possible that Batman used a popular woodcut that was circulating in Europe as a model for his woodcut: Williams, "The Reformation of an Icon," 85.

⁴⁰ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 226.



Plate 15. An early Christian coin, in Konrad Lycosthenes, *A doome warning* (London: R. Nuberry at the assigns of Henry Bynneman, 1581), sig. I6v. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

popish materials, books, and symbols.⁴¹ The trappings of the Pope take shape and come alive, enabling a comparison between the simple and pure figure of Christ and the parody found in the intricate, grotesque portrait of Catholicism.⁴² The poem that follows reminds the reader that it is Christ, not the Pope, who rightfully rules England:

If Juda did the Lion beare, and Dan the Dragon fel,
Then judge who worthy ought to have, that rules them both so well,
For he whose harte once pierced was, hath fixt his feete most sure,
In right of Albions worthy grace, for ever to endure.⁴³

But even with this obviously Protestant imagery, Batman still felt it necessary to justify the image of Christ:

⁴¹ Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 90, 160.

⁴² Similar representations of the Ascension were popular on carved panels of alabaster and wood. The Victoria and Albert Museum has two examples: A.113–1946, A.144–1946.

⁴³ Konrad Lycosthenes, *The doome warning of all men to the judgements*, trans. Stephen Batman (London, 1581), sig. R7v.

I have caused this to be sette down, to none other ende, that as a worthy monument among diverse straunge effectes, of no lesse worthynesse, than other coynes of Emperors, which was supposed a coyne usuall among the Christians in the primitive Church.⁴⁴

Batman sought to assure the reader that the image was nothing more than a visual memorial of a common item from antiquity. That it displayed the face of Christ should not garner it any more or less attention. Batman's explanation seems to have been intended as a pre-emptive defence against extreme iconoclasm. A similar explanation was given by John Bridges in his reply to Nicholas Sanders's defence of images of Christ. Bridges attacks the worship of the Veronica while defending displays such as Batman's, saying

ye worshipped the picture of the face of Christe, which yet by the auncient describers thereof, was nothing like his face. Neither can ye say, ye prayed not to it, but unto Christe, whom the face in the cloath represented: for even unto the paynted face it selfe ye prayed.⁴⁵

Protestants thus made an effort, which may not have been fully articulated, to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable depictions of Christ. They sought to make clear the differences between true and false religion, separated by what they saw as a chasm. Images of Christ could in certain ways prove useful in this campaign. Christ was at the centre of true religion, yet images of him had been corrupted by the popish religion, and Protestants intended to expose these false displays.

Protestant Identity and the Imitatio Christi

Protestant images of Christ, while at times polemical, retained a devotional element in their appropriation of the *imitatio Christi*.⁴⁶ This practice had its most profound expression in Thomas Kempis's fifteenth-century text *De imitatione Christi*, which would prove equally popular among Catholics and Protestants. Kempis's work was something of a Reformation bestseller with six editions of pre-Reformation translations by Richard Whitforde and Edward Hake appearing after 1560. Also, nine editions of

⁴⁴ Lycosthenes, *The doome warning*, sig. I6v.

⁴⁵ John Bridges, *The supremacie of Christian princes over all persons throughout ther dominions* (London, 1573), 481.

⁴⁶ J. Sears McGee, "Conversion and the Imitation of Christ in Puritan and Anglican Writings," *Journal of British Studies* 15 (1976): 21–39; Elizabeth Hudson, "English Protestants and the *imitatio Christi*, 1580–1620," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988): 541–58.

Thomas Rogers's more reformed translation, without any reference to the Eucharist, were printed between 1580 and 1603. The number of editions matched or surpassed that of most other devotional books, which has led Ian Green to describe the "English fascination" with Kempis as "remarkable."⁴⁷

The image and imitation of Christ extended beyond the confines of late-medieval piety. Kempis's principles inspired Protestant ministers and martyrs to conform to the model set out by Christ's preaching; they also gave substantive form to the Calvinist God, which many scholars have interpreted as becoming more aloof as the Reformation progressed.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, much of the scholarship on the impact of the *imitatio* in England has been bogged down in a distinction between imitating Christ and becoming more like Christ, the latter having taken precedence in seventeenth-century puritanism. Elizabeth Hudson surmises that the same virtues that Kempis extolled in Christ's life were encouraged by puritans, but not as a way of imitating Christ.⁴⁹ While useful, this debate does not fully capture the impact of the *imitatio Christi* upon early modern Protestant identity. The debate neglects a wealth of cultural interconnections between the teaching and person of Christ that were reinforced in early modern religion. The pulpit provided one setting for the co-option of the *imitatio Christi* by Protestants. As Arthur Dent stated, "No preaching, no faith; no faith, no Christ; no Christ, no eternall life ... If we will have heaven, we must have Christ. If we will have Christ, we must have faith. If we will have faith, we must have the word preached."⁵⁰

One image of Christ that obviously reflected the appeal of the *imitatio Christi* was Christ as shepherd and teacher. The idea that preachers and

⁴⁷ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 306. Although, as for most books of the period, it is difficult to gauge the readership of Kempis, there are some indications that his work was widely read at the universities: *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, 6 vols., ed. Elizabeth Leedham-Green (Marlborough: Adam Matthew, 1992–2009), I, 3.196; III, 79.49; IV, 104.63, 112.154; VI, 146.278; Elizabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Period*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 475.

⁴⁸ Thomas Freeman, "'Imitatio Christi' with a Vengeance": The Politicization of Martyrdom in Early Modern England," in *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, 1400–1700*, eds. Thomas Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 35–69.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Hudson, "English Protestants and the *Imitatio Christi*, 1580–1620," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988), 541–58.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Eric Josef Carlson, "The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540–1640," in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 250–51.

teachers of God's Word were representatives and therefore reflections of Christ was deeply embedded in Protestant identity. The Reformation stripped ministers of their priestly role and forms and replaced these traditions with responsibility for interpreting and administering the Word.⁵¹ For a generally unlearned body of clerics, who were more accustomed to ceremonies and liturgy, the mandate to preach and teach was a tall order. In 1559 royal injunctions required that ministers be the watchmen and form the rearguard against "the vice of damnable despair" by always being ready to offer "such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture as to set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God."⁵²

"To preach Christ" became shorthand for true teaching and preaching. A 1572 ballad explained,

... the Preachers: so this understand,
Which doo preach Christ truly: in every land.
Without Pope or popery, our soules for to save,
By faith in Christ onely, of whom we it crave.⁵³

The sermon of truth replaced the Mass of idolatry, and the truth always returned to Christ. It was not enough to administer the sacraments and oversee the liturgy; the godly minister should protect against doctrinal corruption and expound the truth. To preach Christ, the phrase Paul used in 1 Corinthians 1.23, "meant literally to keep the sermon's focus ... narrowly fixed upon the person and words of Christ to promote the right scriptural understanding of justification by faith alone."⁵⁴ In fact, there is a two-fold meaning in the phrase. The focus was upon Christ, whether in imitation or preaching, in order not merely to replicate the virtues of his life but also to follow his model in administering the Gospel. Alexandra Walsham explains that "preaching occupied a unique position in the Protestant economy of salvation."⁵⁵ It had replaced the sacraments as the

⁵¹ Patrick Collinson, "Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings: The Pastoral Ministry in Post-Reformation England," in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, eds. W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 185–220.

⁵² VAI, III.14.

⁵³ Anon., *A new ballad intituled, Daniels sifyng in these our Days aptly applied to the true preachers of the Gospell* (London, 1572).

⁵⁴ Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 86.

⁵⁵ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 52; Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 184–85.

focus of the church service and as the primary means of gaining access to God.

Imagery of Christ as the Good Shepherd provides an excellent example of the relationship between the preacher and Christ. A popular theme in the works of Geoffrey Chaucer and William Langland, the Good Shepherd appeared often in Protestant printed images. Its meaning was rooted in Christ's exhortation

The man who enters by the gate is the shepherd of his sheep. The watchman opens the gate for him, and the sheep listen to his voice. He calls his own sheep by name and leads them out. When he has brought out all his own, he goes on ahead of them, and his sheep follow him because they know his voice. But they will never follow a stranger; in fact, they will run away from him because they do not recognize a stranger's voice (John 10:2-5).

One woodcut of the Good Shepherd appeared in more than two dozen theological texts⁵⁶ (plate 16). While this image was a printer's device, there is good reason not to treat it as merely an emblem. The Good Shepherd not only symbolized the comfort of Christ's role as Saviour and protector but also alluded to the preacher as a shepherd who leads people to the true Shepherd through the Word. Miles Coverdale called the imagery "one of the most loving and comfortable similitudes," for in this figure Christ, "not only provide for his sheep pasture, and other more things that belong thereto, but defendeth them also, that no harm chance unto them."

Similarly, Calvin exhorted people to pray "to receive our Lord Jesus Christ for our guide and shepheard, and to heare him as our teacher and master, like as hee speaketh to us daylie by his worde."⁵⁷ Furthermore, in the Biblical passage cited above, Christ described himself not only as the shepherd but also as the gate for the sheep. The image of the Good Shepherd, which was placed either on the frontispiece or on the last page of the text, marked the boundaries of good teaching.

Imitating Christ also meant distinguishing good preachers from bad ones, or what Patrick Collinson has termed "hirelings."⁵⁸ A bad shepherd,

⁵⁶ Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913), plates 153, 202, 207.

⁵⁷ Collinson, "Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings," 195-97. Miles Coverdale, "Exposition upon the Twenty-second Psalm," in *Remains of Myles Coverdale*, ed. George Pearson (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1846), 279-319 (288-89); John Calvin, *The sermons of M. John Calvin upon the fifth booke of Moses called Deuteronomie* (London, 1583) (facsimile; Oxford: University Printing House, 1987), 121.

⁵⁸ Collinson, "Shepherds, Sheepdogs, and Hirelings," 185-87.

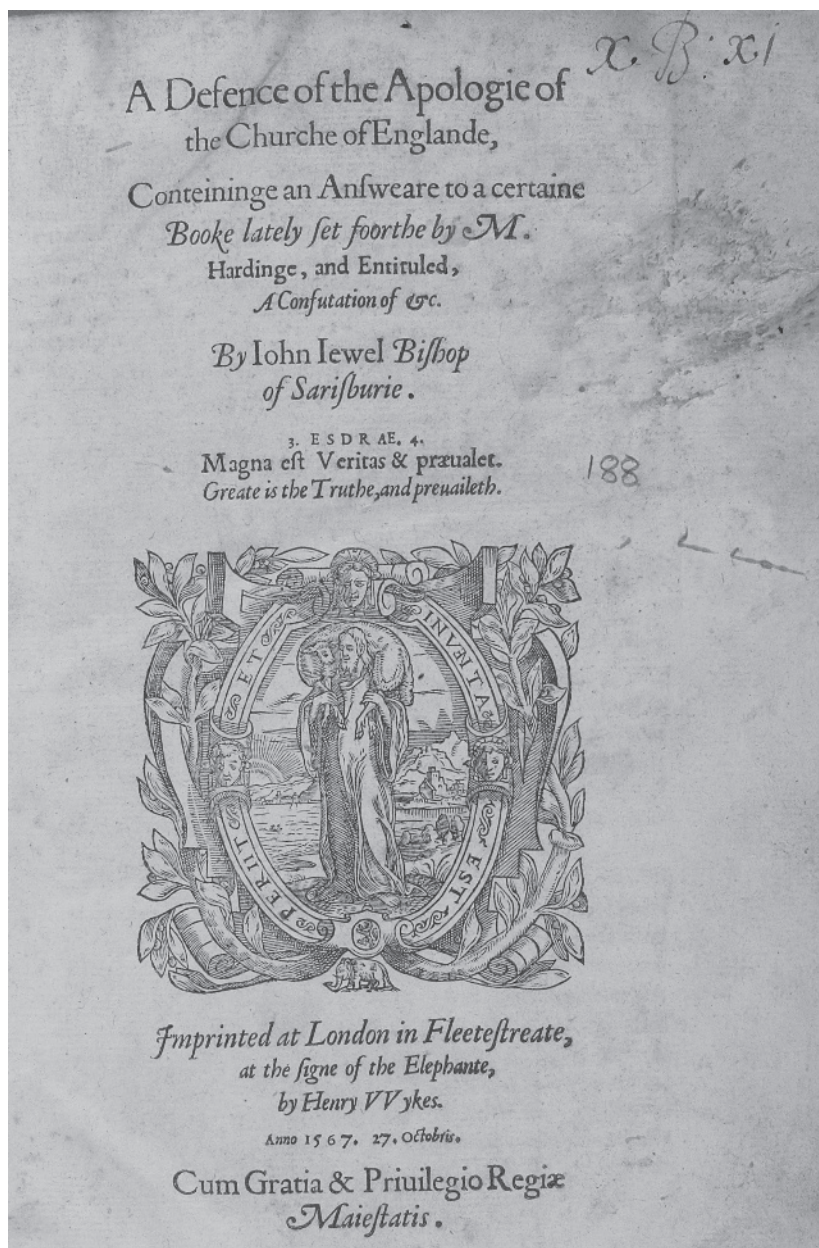


Plate 16. Christ as the Good Shepherd, in John Jewel, *A defence of the Apologie of the Church of Englande* (London: Henry Wykes, 1567), titlepage. [By permission of Lambeth Palace Library]

particularly a malicious one, was dangerous to the community, because he threatened the spiritual well-being of an entire parish. Thomas Becon explained, “*Antichrist* saieth, that he is a good sheepeheard, and yet he pollet and pillet, hee sheareth and scrapeth the sheepe so neare, that he leaveth not one locke of wolfe on their backs.”⁵⁹ These hirelings were ministers who did not defend the flock against the wolves of popery.⁶⁰ The good minister and pastor reflected the Good Shepherd, as they were Christ’s workmen.

Serving as a reminder of this relationship, the image of Christ as teacher and preacher was a common one. It regularly appeared before the beginning of a text, to assure the reader that what was printed was true. In Stephen Batman’s *The doome warning*, the introduction concludes with a rectangular woodcut of Christ inviting a crowd of people to “come unto me” (plate 17). This particular woodcut was popular in the 1540s, having been printed sixteen times by John Mayler at the beginning of devotional



Plate 17. Christ preaching, in Lycosthenes, *A doome warning*, sig. ¶¶2r. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

⁵⁹ Thomas Becon, *The actes of Christe and of Antichriste concernyng bothe their life and doctrine* (London, 1577), sig. B8v. One image created by Hans Holbein depicted such immoral shepherds (or hirelings) fleeing as the sheep are devoured by the wolves. It was first printed in England by Walter Lynne in 1548 on the frontispiece of a pamphlet written by Urbanus Rhegius contrasting true and false worship, and it appeared again in 1566 in a judgment pamphlet printed by William Pickering: Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.750.

⁶⁰ The concern that people have good ministers can be seen in the examples of non-conformist ministers (not necessarily hirelings) who were suspected of leading their people into false belief in Judith Maltby, *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 41–45.

works that included Bishop John Hilsey's traditional text *The manuall of prayers*.⁶¹ Batman's text was, however, a rich anti-Catholic judgment book, exhorting readers to think on eternity. The verses on the page opposite the woodcut stated,

Imagine that thou seest, the thing is not in sight,
Faith shal teach thee then to understand aright.
What ever here thou finde, give God the prayse not me,
His only grace it is, that bestoweth this on thee.⁶²

Detached from its Catholic past, the image became the starting point of an anti-Catholic polemic that began with the Word of God visualized.⁶³

In such images there is an unspoken warning for enemies of reform: Christ is the teacher and shepherd of the Reformation. William Fulke preached, "while the church is dispersed in diverse places of the world, as that there is one flocke and one shepheard over all Jesus Christ."⁶⁴ Likewise, texts such as the Lutheran devotional *A briefe summe of the whole byble* and Sir David Lindsay's *A dialogue betweene experience and a courtier* used images of Christ not to speak of Christ's life in particular but to draw upon a well-established motif of images of Christ as emblems for godliness and good teaching.⁶⁵

An interesting example of how versatile the image of the Good Shepherd could be in conveying this message of Christ is the frontispiece of *The examination and confession of certaine wytyches at Chensforde* (c. 1566)⁶⁶ (plate 18). Printed by William Powell at the commission of William Pickering, the pamphlet is almost entirely typical of this sort of sensational, cheap print of the period. It has four crude woodcuts illustrating

⁶¹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.62, 522.

⁶² Lycosthenes, *The doome warning*, sig. 1v.

⁶³ A similar image of Christ recycled from the pre-Reformation was a two-scene frontispiece of Christ teaching and Christ commissioning his disciples. Imported from Europe, it was first printed in England by Peter Southwarke in 1530, and then by William Rastell for several works by Cardinal John Fisher. Another printing was made by Richard Toye in 1550 and again by William Copland in 1560. Also, in that same year Owen Rogers used an altered version of the image for Francis Newport's *An epythaphe of the godlye constant and comfortable confessor mystres Darothye Wynnes* (London, 1560): McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland*, plate 17.

⁶⁴ William Fulke, *A retentive, to stay good Christians, in true faith and religion, against the motives of Richard Bristow* (London, 1580), 259.

⁶⁵ David Lindsay, *A dialogue betweene experience and a courtier* (London, 1566); Cornelius van der Heyden, *A briefe summe of the vvhole Bible* (London, 1568).

⁶⁶ John Philips, *The Examination and confession of certaine wytyches at Chensforde in the countie of Essex* (London, 1566).

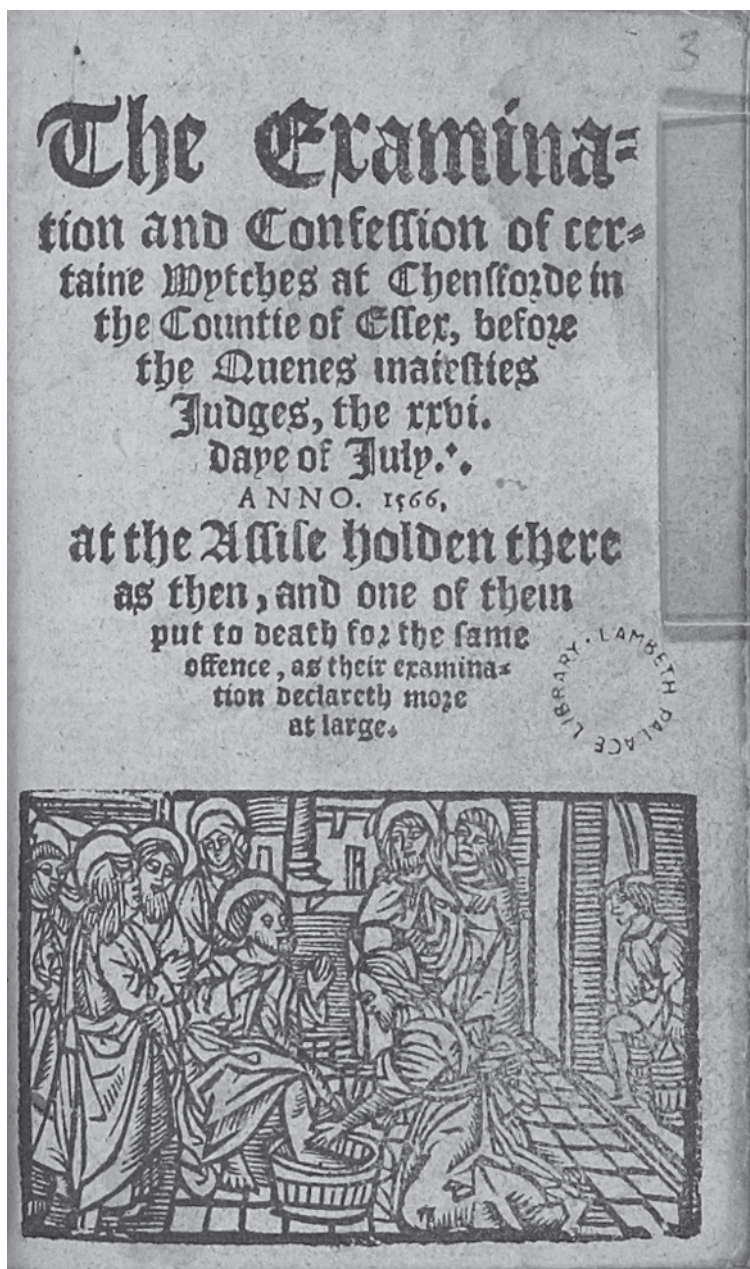


Plate 18. Christ washing the disciples' feet, in John Philips, *The examination and confession of certaine wytches at Chensforde* (London: R. Johns, 1566), titlepage. [By permission of Lambeth Palace Library]

the witches' activities, but the opening picture is of Christ washing his disciples' feet. This latter image was certainly created in the early sixteenth century, but its appearance in a witchcraft pamphlet is unique in English print culture. Christ is mentioned in the formulaic manner common to such pamphlets, but the scene in this picture is neither described nor directly alluded to in the text. It is likely that the image was understood in the context of the Biblical narrative that complemented the pamphlet, rather than as an illustration of the pamphlet's content. The image's place on the frontispiece, rather than within the text, allows for such an alternative reading that moves alongside the text rather than addressing it directly.⁶⁷ After washing the disciples' feet, Christ commissioned and commanded them to go and do likewise. In opposition to this scene, the witches were disciples of Satan and had refused Christ's teaching. The pamphlet explained they

be Sathans owne, for Jesus Christe,
for his deny them wyll.
Sith Christ in heaven will them forsake,
which him in earth denye.⁶⁸

The believer had forsaken Satan and, like the disciples, was given the responsibility to "preach Christ" to others as well as listen to the truth when it was preached. The accompanying woodcuts within the text of witches interacting with demonic creatures reinforced this contrast.

The image of Christ as a teacher also appeared in books of a more basic reading level, such as the *Kalender of Shepherds*, which depicted Christ teaching the *pater noster*.⁶⁹ The woodcut in the *Kalender* was so popular that it was recycled in Hugh Rhodes's *The booke of nurture for men seruautes, and children* (c. 1568). Certainly, the *Kalender* and Rhodes's book of manners were spiritual and social primers, but as Natalie Davis has warned, it is wrong to assume a limited readership of such texts, as they

⁶⁷ Although she makes no reference to the woodcut itself, Marion Gibson provides an insightful introduction to the pamphlet in *Early Modern Witches: Witchcraft Cases in Contemporary Writing* (London: Routledge, 2000), 10–11. See also Lee Palmer Wandel, "Envisioning God: Images and Liturgy in Reformation Zurich," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 22–23.

⁶⁸ John Philips, *The examination and confession of certaine wytyches at Chensforde in the countie of Essex* (London, 1566), sig. A5r.

⁶⁹ Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), plate 1522; Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.655, 673–78. Douglas Gray, "Rhodes, Hugh (fl. 1545?)," ODNB.

could serve both high and low classes, both educated and limited readers, in their own way.⁷⁰

The homily “A fruitfull exhortation to the Reading of Holye Scripture” asked, “If we professe Christe, why be we not ashamed to be ignoraunt in his doctrine, seying that every man is ashamed to be ignorant in that learning whiche he professeth?”⁷¹ The image of the Good Shepherd highlighted a new aspect of Reformation identity, that of the relationship between student and learner, between disciple and Christ. For most people, this association was summarized in, for example, the catechism, the *pater noster*, and the Book of Common Prayer.⁷² The images of Christ reflected the weighty responsibility hoisted upon each individual’s shoulders to learn from Christ the Teacher without the assistance of a priest. The importance of preaching was wrapped up in the idea that Christ the Word was giving the Word, himself, to those who believed. Alexander Nowell’s catechism summarized this point, saying people should hear the Word preached, “Even as the Lord himself if he were present ... which himself witnesseth, saying, ‘He that heareth you, heareth me’.”⁷³ Not only did the images confirm the message of Protestant doctrine, but they also captured the essence of Protestant Christology. Christ was the model, messenger, and message.

The Suffering Christ: Meditation and Imitation

The preceding discussion appears to confirm Tessa Watt’s general assertion that

When the human figure of Christ was shown, potentially devotional scenes like the crucifixion or virgin and child were generally avoided ... Printers’ devices portrayed Christ in emblematic roles which illustrated the central doctrines of Protestantism: Christ as the Good Shepherd ... Christ triumphing over death, emerging from a grave with one foot on a skeleton.⁷⁴

Images of Christ undoubtedly diminished in number, but they were neither eliminated nor culturally devalued. The idea that the devotional and

⁷⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), 197–200.

⁷¹ “A fruitfull exhortation to the Reading of Holye Scripture,” in Rickey and Stroup, eds., *Certain Sermons or homelies*, 64.

⁷² Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 290–93.

⁷³ Alexander Nowell, *A Catechism written in Latin*, ed. G.E. Corrie (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1853), 116.

⁷⁴ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 161.

intimate images of Christ disappeared from English visual culture is an exaggeration. Although such images were fewer in number, the suffering Christ and the life of Christ remained prominent themes in illustrations of both Biblical and non-Biblical texts.

The *imitatio Christi* was as much about devotion as godly preaching. Both Kempis and the late-medieval *devotio moderna* movement stressed that each individual needed to follow the example of Christ in daily living. Most importantly, all believers were a part of the body of Christ, which implied a degree of participation. One of the clearest examples of this involvement can be found in the recent studies of conceptions of martyrdom in the sixteenth century.⁷⁵ Medieval mystics had related intimately to Christ's Passion, and amongst Protestants there was a vibrant attempt to stimulate *imitatio* in the retelling of martyrdom stories. Thomas Freeman comments, "even the most iconoclastic and radical Protestants sought, with considerable ingenuity and effort, to imitate, and to emphasise the imitations by their co-religionists, of Christ's passion and death."⁷⁶ This typological standard could be extended to godly people who were still alive. The austere Tudor homilies recognized the importance of imitation of Christ to being a member of the church body. "An Homelie against Contencion and Braulynge" exhorted the people,

Thou canste be no member of Christ, if thou follow not the steppes of Christ, who, as the prophete saieth, was led to death like a lambe, not openynge hys mouth to reviling, but opening hys mouth to praiynge for them that crucified hym.⁷⁷

A person's identification with Christ, as a follower of Christ, was evident in, though not determined by, his or her behaviour and lifestyle. This association not only linked the believer to Christ but also identified the believer with the true church.

The *imitatio Christi* was a standard for Protestant Bibles from the earliest Great Bibles to the woodcuts in the Rouen Bible (c. 1566). The trend that saw an entire series of pictures from Christ's life printed on a single

⁷⁵ Freeman, "‘*Imitatio Christi* with a Vengeance,'" 35–69. See also Brad Gregory, *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 158–62; Susannah Brietz Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 121–22.

⁷⁶ Freeman, "‘*Imitatio Christi* with a Vengeance,'" 51.

⁷⁷ "An Homelie against Contencion and Braulynge." in *Certain sermons or Homilies (1547) AND A Homily Against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion (1570): A Critical Edition*, ed. Ronald B. Bond (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 196.

folio page was begun in the Great Bible (c. 1566) (plate 19). In the Rouen Bible, three titlepages for sections of the Old Testament each depict over a dozen woodcuts from Biblical scenes. The titlepage for the Apocrypha displays various images from the Old Testament and the life of Christ in a unique collage of visual piety. The Rouen Bible was printed by Carmin Hamillon in France and funded by the Englishman Richard Carmarden.⁷⁸ On each illustrated page, the printer arranged twenty-four pictures.⁷⁹ Twenty-six images in total were printed in seventy-two occurrences on the several titlepages, and fourteen of these images depicted the life of Christ. Strangely, however, there is no obvious placement order to the woodcuts. Images of Christ's life are interspersed with Old Testament scenes, creating a collage more than a pattern. A similar collection of images occurred in the 1572 Bishops Bible, where eighteen scenes of Revelation are placed onto one page rather than printed throughout the book.⁸⁰

The images in the Rouen Bible could be read in many different ways. Old Testament scenes of King Solomon transition to the Resurrection and Christ's miracle of multiplying the loaves and fish and then to St John's vision on the island of Patmos. This disjuncture between many of the scenes demonstrates a similarity with the medieval *Biblia pauperum* tradition, which offered a montage of scenes that communicated the basic message and narrative of the Bible. Furthermore, this disjointedness would have made it easier to remove the images from the page, as happened to many smaller woodcuts of Christ, to paste them into other places.⁸¹ Other images of Christ's life were recycled during the Reformation for Tyndale's New Testament. They appeared first in two different editions by Stephen Mierdman for Richard Jugge, in 1548 and 1552, and included

⁷⁸ *The Byble in Englyshe* (Rouen, 1566); Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.121–22. Though Richard Carmarden, who was behind the Rouen Bible, remains somewhat of an enigma in the printing trade, he seems to have been, like most Bible publishers, a man of business and religion. The little biographical information we have suggests that he was a part of the Elizabethan customs administration, which would explain his access to printing and printers in France. The Rouen Bible was an attempt to secure the approval of Queen Elizabeth and the bishops: John U. Nef, "Richard Carmarden's 'A Caveat for the Quene' (1570)," *Journal of Political Economy* 41 (1933): 33–41; Howell A. Lloyd, "Camden, Carmarden and the Customs," *English Historical Review* 85 (1970): 776–87.

⁷⁹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.108–10.

⁸⁰ For earlier Bibles with this sort of illustration see Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.96–100.

⁸¹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 161. For further discussion on the *Biblia pauperum* see Tobin Nellhaus, "Mementos of Things to Come: Orality, Literacy, and Typology in the *Biblia pauperum*," in *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450–1520*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 292–321.

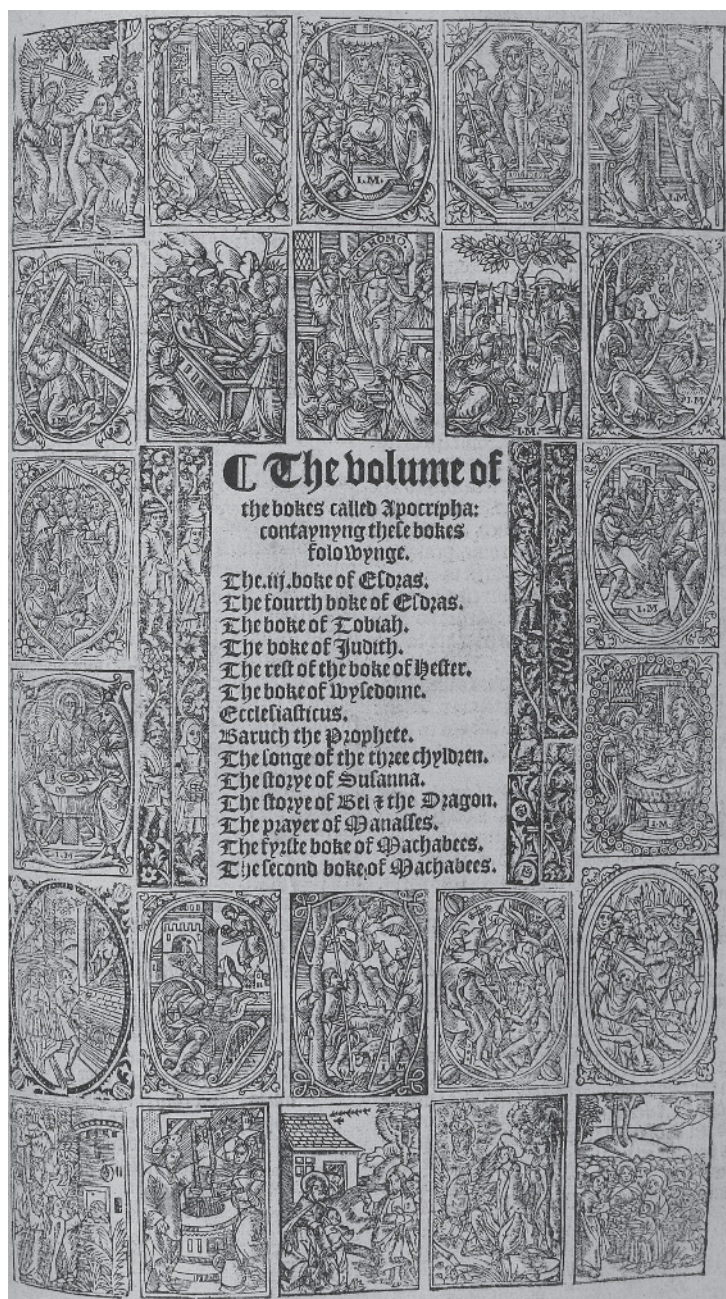


Plate 19. Frontispiece of the Apocrypha, in *Rouen Bible* (Rouen: Cardin Hamillon, 1566), titlepage. [By permission of Lambeth Palace Library]

pictures of the Last Supper, the Annunciation, Christ on trial, the Crucifixion, and the Ascension, and resurfaced in a much smaller sextodecimo in 1561.⁸² The pocket size of these pictures suggests that they were intended to be viewed in an intimate setting. All of the images in John Cawood's 1561 edition of the Great Bible were of Christ's life, and three depicted stages in the Passion: the Last Supper, the Arrest of Christ, and the Crucifixion. The Last Supper image was printed three more times in the 1560s and the Crucifixion was reprinted by Cawood on the frontispiece of his 1569 Great Bible.⁸³

In reformed circles this marriage of intimate depictions and imitation of Christ came with specific disclaimers. Calvin warned against ceremonious outward actions in imitating the life of Christ, admonishing, "we must take heed that our ceremonies, expresse no more than is in the minde."⁸⁴ In other words, human beings were only like Christ in the flesh, and not in his divinity; they could not comprehend Christ's nature and were to take care not to overextend the idea of imitating him. Readers continued to receive instructions and illustrations of how to imitate Christ. Even William Perkins expressed in great detail how the believer in daily life "must learne to imitate Christ." In his *An exposition of the symbole or creed*, he explained that the godly must imitate firstly the crucifixion for, "as he as he suffered himselfe to be nailed to the crosse for our sinnes, so answerably must every one of us learne to crucifie our flesh, and the corruption of our nature, and the wickednesse of our owne heart." Then, to imitate the burial of Christ, the Christian should be "continually occupied in the spiritual burial of our sins." Also, in the humiliation that Christ suffered in the Passion, believers "learne to become nothing in our selves, that we may be all in all forth of ourselves in Christ."⁸⁵ In contrast to the Catholic practice of participation in Christ's Passion, Protestants continued to express greater ambiguity, seemingly uncertain how best to relate Christ's sufferings.

In prayer books from the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign, there are a startling number of references to Christ's Passion.⁸⁶ Throughout the

⁸² *The newe testament of our saviour Jesu Christ* (London, 1561); Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1195–97.

⁸³ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 118.

⁸⁴ John Calvin, *A harmonie upon the three Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke with the commentarie of M. John Calvine* (London, 1584), 380.

⁸⁵ William Perkins, *The workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins. The first volume* (London, 1626), 209, 231, 234.

⁸⁶ White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 147.

sixteenth century, in prayer and image, the life and death of Christ was remembered and used as an impetus to imitating Christ. Christopher Sutton willingly drew from the Fifteen Oes, referring continually to Christ as “O good and gracious Jesus” for his reformed collection of meditations on the Eucharist.⁸⁷ Images of the Passion are best exemplified in *A booke of Christian prayers* (c. 1569), which was edited and reprinted three more times after 1578. Printed by John Day, the woodcut borders printed on each page displayed thirty-seven separate images from the life of Christ alongside pictures from the Old Testament. On one page the *pieta* (in the middle of the border) appears with Joseph being cast into a well (above) and Jonah thrown to the whale (below) (plate 20).

Although small in size, these images could be read both as illustrations and as parallel narratives alongside the prayers. The prayers revolved around the concerns of the ardent believer, and the pictures reflected these themes by visualizing the Biblical examples. Text and image created a discourse that linked the person praying with Christ's life. As Murray Roston and others have explained, English Protestants “began to see their daily struggles, both physical and spiritual, in terms of a Biblical archetype.”⁸⁸ The images of Christ paralleled the prayers of the reader, who was instructed to say, “O good Christ, our most gracious redeemer, as thou doost mercifully rayse up now this my body, even so I beseeche thee rayse up my mynde and harte to the true knowledge and love of thee.” The connection with Christ is made even more pronounced when several pages later a prayer concludes “geve me to take my rest in thee ... that slepyng I be not absent from thee.”⁸⁹

It was by no means beyond English Protestantism to depict the suffering of Christ. In Day's prayer book, it is a dominant theme that not only displays what Christ endured but also instructs the reader. As the images of the Passion begin, the text turns to the reader's own wickedness and moral corruption. That sin should be eschewed, the prayer asks Christ to

⁸⁷ Christopher Sutton, *Godly meditations upon the most holy sacrament of the Lordes Supper* (London, 1601), 214–23.

⁸⁸ Murray Roston, *Biblical Drama in England, from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 71. Roston argued that the number of New Testament themes performed on the stage was limited, but such decline was not the case for printed images. Though the number of the latter did fall, New Testament scenes continued to be printed into the Stuart period. For Christ in the domestic interior see Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 108–12.

⁸⁹ Richard Day, *Christian prayers and meditations in English French, Italian, Spanish, Greeke, and Latine* (London, 1569), sigs. a4r, c3v.

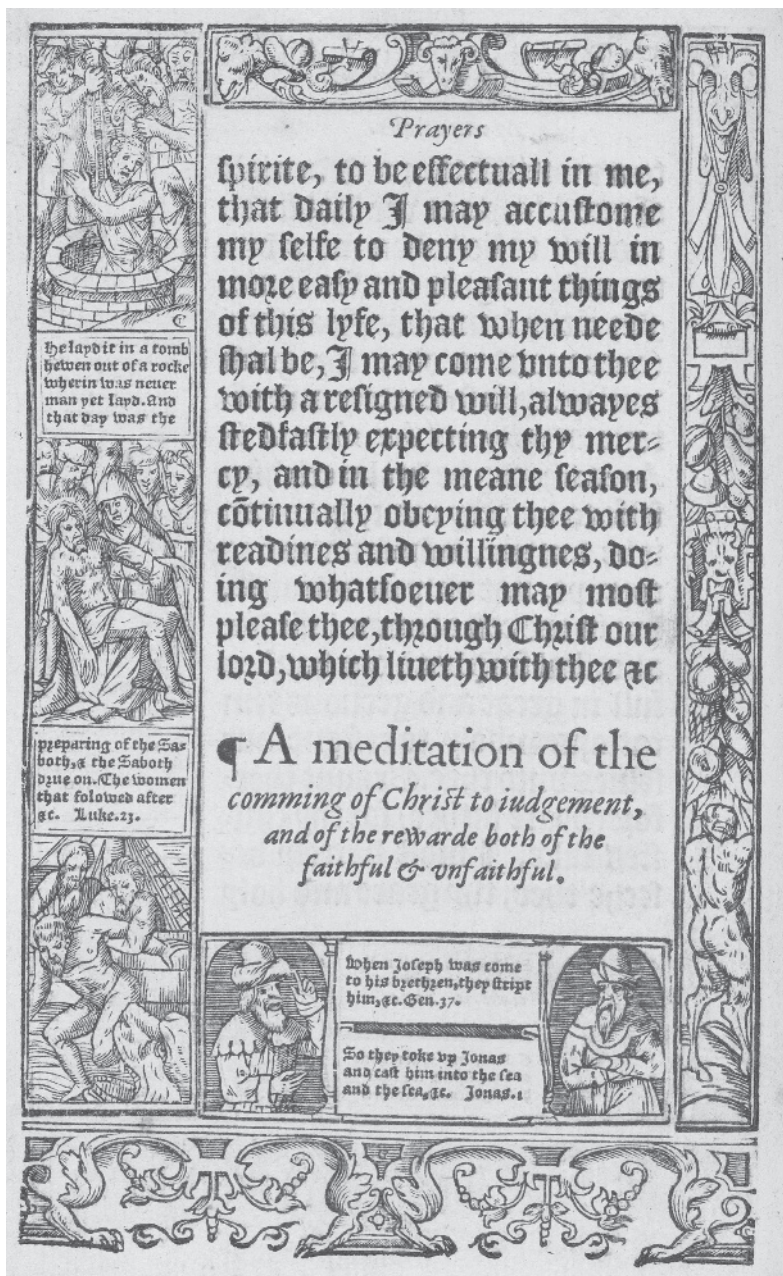


Plate 20. Border images, Richard Day, *Christian prayers and meditations in English French, Italian, Spanish, Greeke, and Latine* (London: John Daye, 1569), sig. e2v. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

send the reader through emotional and spiritual torment, so as to “pull them up by the rootes out of my hart,” so that “we shal finde enough to do when more bitter and weighty crosses come.”⁹⁰ In the second cycle of the Passion images, the prayers turn to bodily illness and disease, reflecting the bodily suffering of Christ. It is interesting to note that even though Day’s prayer book is suggestive of a particular permissibility within Protestant visual culture, even Day found that to print the *pieta* brought him too close to the dividing line with Catholicism. After printing two different images of the *pieta* in the 1569 edition, he removed the images for subsequent printings.⁹¹

Other prayer books of the period were even more adamant about the wounds and Passion of Christ. The ability to enter into the pains of Christ was not unique to either the illustrations or text of Day’s prayer book. The popular volume *Certaine selecte prayers* (c. 1574) emphatically stated,

When any foule thought assaulteth me, I runne to the woundes of Christ. When my fleshe presseth me downe, I rise up agayne by remembryng the woundes of my Lord. When the devill layeth wayt for me, I flee to the bowels of the mercy of my Lorde, and he departeth away from me.⁹²

And Henry Bull, a friend of John Foxe, wrote in his book of prayers,

Thy bodie was racked to be nayled to the tree, thy handes were boared through, and thy feete also, nailes were put through them to fasten thee thereon: thou wast hanged betweene heaven and earth, as one spued out of heaven, and vomited out of the earth, unworthie of any place.⁹³

These passages lack some of the emotion and passion that fills late-medieval prayers with a sense of pain and torment. They do reflect, however, the continuing appeal of Christ’s Passion in Reformation England. As a body of imagery and symbolism, the pains of Christ—once refashioned

⁹⁰ Day, *Christian prayers*, sigs. c1r–c2r, l1v–K2r.

⁹¹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 131. For Day’s removal of the images see Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, l.320.

⁹² Augustine, *Certain select prayers* (London, 1574), sig. A5r. For the background formed by the Augustinian order see Eric Saak, *High Way to Heaven: The Augustinian Platform between Reform and Reformation, 1292–1524*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 477–80. Though Saak does not make the connection with these prayers, his study of Jordan of Quidlinburgh, in particular Quidlinburgh’s *Meditationes de Passione Christi*, highlights several characteristics that resonate with the Elizabethan prayers.

⁹³ Henry Bull, *Christian praieris and holie meditations as wel for private as publique exercise* (London, 1574), 266.

and reformed—provided useful elements for Biblical and devotional printing.

Images of the Crucifixion are of particular importance. They were highly suspect as they depicted an obvious symbol of Catholic idolatry. The crucifixion played a significant role in Catholic piety, and it occupied a key position in early Elizabethan Catholic discourse. The popular early Elizabethan works of John Martiall that defended images of the cross were printed with images of the Crucifixion.⁹⁴ Also, the cross continued to carry miraculous and portentous powers. The Catholic gentleman Sir Thomas Stradling of Glamorgan reported that a crucifix had appeared in the stump of a fallen ash tree. The event was published in English and Welsh, and pilgrims visited the tree in 1561. After being arrested and taken to the Tower of London, Stradling confessed to the Queen that he had had “four pictures” of the cross fashioned as gifts for friends and family.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, along with Day’s prayer book, there are two examples of printed images of the Crucifixion outside scriptural texts, both associated with the *Kalender of Shepherds*. At least two different Crucifixion woodcuts were printed in the Elizabethan editions of the *Kalender*: the smaller of the two had been recycled numerous times from the stock of early sixteenth century printer Julian Notary; the second was a popular image from Richard Pynson’s shop, printed fourteen times before 1540 in various works and then recycled for Thomas East’s 1570 edition of the *Kalender*.⁹⁶ A copy of this second crucifixion scene had appeared in Wynken de Worde’s *Contemplacyon of synners* (c. 1499), a pre-Reformation Catholic prayer book. After the Reformation at least one reader considered it profitable enough to bind the image with anti-Catholic works like Bernard Garter’s *A newyeares gifte*.⁹⁷

In the 1580s and 1590s, pictures of the Passion could be acquired quite easily at printing houses in London. In fact, in the 1590s there seems to have been a resurgence of traditional devotional themes. The twelve

⁹⁴ John Martiall, *A treatyse on the crosse gathred out of the scriptures* (Antwerp, 1564), sig. 2A6v.

⁹⁵ CSPD, 176; R.A. Griffiths, “Stradling, Sir Thomas (1498–1571),” ODNB; Freeman, “*Imitatio Christi* with a Vengeance,” 42.

⁹⁶ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.51; Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, plate 1475.

⁹⁷ Anon., *Contemplacyon of synners* (London, 1499), sig. J5v (copy in the Bodleian Library, Bod. Lib. 4.N.16.Th).

instruments of the Passion were printed on the titlepage of Samuel Rowland's *The betraying of Christ* (c. 1598), the first use of this illustration since the beginning of the Reformation (plate 21). In this quarto collection of verses, printed by Adam Islip, Rowlands wrote,

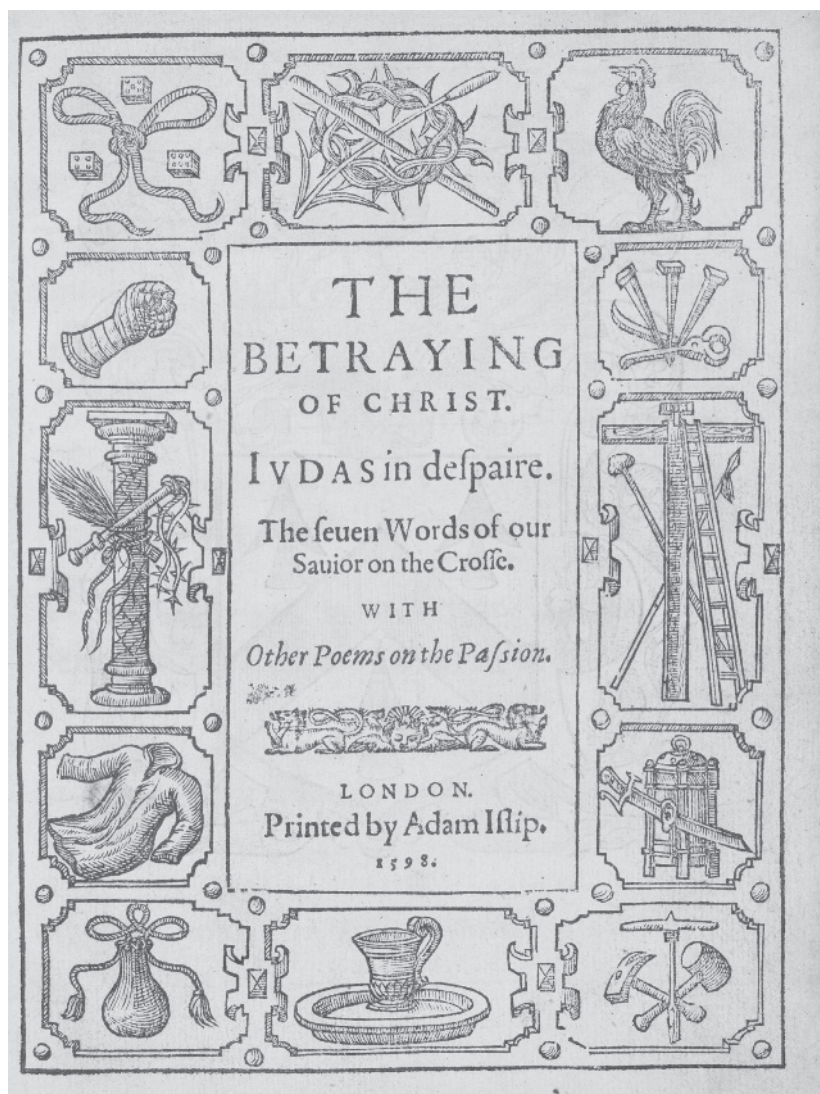


Plate 21. Instruments of the Passion. in Samuel Rowlands, *The betraying of Christ. Judas in despaire* (London: Adam Islip, 1598), titlepage. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

Bring all thy thoughts, fix them on meditation,
 weep drops of tears, for streams of blood Christ
 Summon thy fostred sins, self-hatched euils.⁹⁸

Here the lines between Protestant and Catholic become blurred. Many printers like Islip were either crypto-Catholics or recusants, but it appears that the same cannot be said of their entire readership. All of Islip's books with illustrations of the Passion were licensed, and the woodcut of the instruments was reprinted elsewhere. But the text echoed the impassioned tones of late-medieval devotion, and the image resembled familiar depictions of the *pieta* that were sold as printed pardons.⁹⁹ However, such parallels do not mean that the depiction of Christ with his wounds was necessarily a Catholic symbol, for the frontispiece of all the Tudor editions of John Foxe's *Actes and monuments* depicted the resurrected Christ with his hands and side on full display.¹⁰⁰

The image of Christ has been left out of Islip's frontispiece. The reasons for its absence are unclear, as the Passion instruments themselves create an undeniable link between this text and the medieval iconography of the Passion. Perhaps Islip preferred to err on the side of subtlety, rather than reproduce a picture that had been popular in England until the 1530s.¹⁰¹

A final image of this sort was printed by Thomas East for the insolvent Richard Vennard in his book *The right way to heaven* (c. 1602) (plate 22). Accused many times of fraud, Vennard sought to make recompense for his wrongdoings by writing this brief spiritual exhortation.¹⁰² Vennard's poem "The Lamentation of the Lost Sheep" concluded with an original woodcut from East's collection that depicted Christ as both the Good Shepherd and the Man of Sorrows. With a lost lamb over his shoulders, Christ displays his wounded side wearing a robe and a crown of thorns, the symbols of the Passion. The poem explained,

Two in thy Hands, two in thy Feet remaine'd,
 One in thy Side: those bought that heavenly food,
 That feeds the Soule with his eternal good.

⁹⁸ Samuel Rowlands, *The betraying of Christ* (London: 1598), sig. Gir.

⁹⁹ Hodnett, *English Woodcuts*, plates 381, 2513.

¹⁰⁰ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.367.

¹⁰¹ Driver, *The Image in Print*, 206–8. It is important to note that many images of the Passion instruments were not attacked by reformed readers. Usually, as for most traditional imagery, the text that the picture illustrated was erased, struck through, or scraped away, leaving the image untouched.

¹⁰² Herbert Berry, "Richard Vennor, England's Joy," *English Literary Renaissance* 31 (2001): 240–65.



Plate 22. Christ as the Good Shepherd, in Richard Vennard, *The right way to heaven* (London: Thomas East, 1602), sig. E3v. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

Laie mee downe then, sweet Christ and let me feed,
On that for which I sigh, and thou didst bleed.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Richard Vennard, *The right way to heaven* (London, 1602), sig. E3v. References to this image in Vennard's work and in *The map of mortalitie* can be found in Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 244–45, and John N. King, *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 16–17.

Just as the Teacher was also the message of the teaching, so too the Shepherd was the nourishment that sustained the sheep. Recycled in the early Stuart period broadside *The map of mortalitie* (c. 1604), such images called to the mind's eye texts such as Thomas Becon's prayer,

Look upon thy deere sonne, whose whole body is stretched forth. Mark ye harmles and pure hands whiche doo drop and distill down innocent blood Consider his bare and naked side, being thrust thorow cruelly with a spear, and renue and wash me with the holy fountain.¹⁰⁴

Christine Peters has commented on Catholic piety, "the wounds of Christ's body were, therefore, marks of human failure and of divine assistance. Although welcomed by the laity as emblems of hope, they chastised as well as comforted."¹⁰⁵ Her views seem in some ways to hold true also for late-Elizabethan religion. Calvin's commentary on Paul's letter to the Philippians exhorted the godly that "lyfe must be made conformable to his death." Further on he explained that such images of Christ were used not only to remind the believer of what exactly Christ suffered but also to demonstrate the spiritual sufferings that each Christian must undergo: "our whole life should represent unto us nothing but an image of death."¹⁰⁶ Printed images of Christ's torment and death were not meant necessarily to evoke emotion or conjure a mystical experience. The meditation of the godly should not rest solely on Christ's death but should move instead from that Passion to the death of sin in the life of the reader. Although readers were not encouraged to identify or even understand Christ the God-man, they were instructed to see his life as a model for their own.

Seeing the End: Resurrection and Judgment

Closely related to the images of Christ's Passion were those of the Resurrection and Last Judgment. The wounds and sufferings of Christ were not only points of connection with God but also evidence of and a precursor to the end of days. At the end of the fifteenth century, judgment was absorbed into writings on the Passion, and Protestants likewise stressed the importance of Christ's death in relation to their own end.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Becon, *The pomaunder of prayer, newly made by Thomas Becon* (London, 1561), sigs. 54v–55r.

¹⁰⁵ Peters, *Patterns of Piety*, 89.

¹⁰⁶ John Calvin, *A commentarie of M. John Calvine upon the Epistle to the Philippians* (London, 1584), 70.

Helen White explains that there was a tangible “shift in emphasis ... from the human implications [of Christ’s person] to the redemptive function of Christ’s life on earth.”¹⁰⁷ Images of the Resurrection led logically to the importance of Christ’s return and his judgment of humanity. Protestants looked for signs of this coming in both the natural and supernatural worlds. They interpreted natural events as portents of the Last Judgment and categorized events and issues according to eschatological themes.¹⁰⁸ This relationship was discussed, preached, stereotyped, and elaborated upon in dozens of pamphlets and cheap print, on the stage, and in verse. The Last Judgment also played a significant symbolic role in early modern courtrooms, as a reminder and in reflection of obedience to the laws of man and God.¹⁰⁹ The role of the Resurrection and the Last Judgement in the context of images of Christ deserves further examination.

In the Tudor period at least five different English Bibles and New Testaments contained images of the Resurrection; these depictions appeared in the early editions of the Coverdale Bible and as late as the Rouen Bible (c. 1566).¹¹⁰ There seems to have been something of a contest over the Resurrection. Catholics continued to employ the Resurrection in most major English devotionals like the *Jesus Psalter* (c. 1575) and John Bucke’s *Instructions for the vse of beades* (c. 1598), but Protestants clung tenaciously to their right to use the Resurrection in visual images.¹¹¹ One of the best examples of Protestant usage, which partially reflects a kind of piety that would not be foreign to Catholicism, is the image of the Judgment in Thomas Bentley’s *The monument of matrons* (c. 1582) (plate 23). In an elaborate scene mildly reminiscent of the titlepage in *Actes and monuments*, figures including Catherine Parr kneel before Christ at the Last Judgment as the dead rise from the ground.¹¹² Although this image carried heavy visual allusions to the traditional Catholic scene of the crowning of the Virgin in heaven, the text framing the scene explained that this was a picture of every person, for “We must all appeere before the judgmente seat

¹⁰⁷ White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, 226.

¹⁰⁸ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, 127–28, 170–73.

¹⁰⁹ Samuel Edgerton, “Icons of Justice,” *Past & Present* 89 (1980): 23–38; Kristin Eldyss Sorenson Zapalac, *“In His Image and Likeness”: Political Iconography and Religious Change in Regensburg, 1500–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).

¹¹⁰ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.85–118.

¹¹¹ For a catalogue of images of the Resurrection (with the exception of the Christ Jesus Triumphant image) see Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, II.174.

¹¹² C.B. Atkinson and J.B. Atkinson, “The Identity and Life of Thomas Bentley, Compiler of *The monument of Matrones* (1582),” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31 (2000): 323–48; John N. King, “The Godly Woman in Elizabethan Iconography,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 38 (1985): 41–84.



Plate 23. Last Judgment, in Thomas Bentley, *The monument of matrones* (London: Henry Denham, 1582), sig. 4D4r. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

of Christe.” To ensure one’s successful passage through the Judgment, the motto continued, “Be thou faithful unto death: and I wil give thee a crowne of lyfe,” an injunction that is reinforced by the figures of Kings David and Solomon in the background of heaven.

Elsewhere, the twin motifs of the Resurrection and the Judgment were promoted in the very popular image of Christ Jesus Triumphant, which was first printed by John Day in 1579. While McKerrow’s catalogue documented six printings of the image, there are at least twenty further printings, usually by John Windet, in reformed theological treatises (plate 24).



Plate 24. Christ Jesus Triumphant, in Richard Hooker, *Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall politie, eyght books* (London: John Windet, 1593), titlepage. [Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Exeter]

Originally created by Hans Holbein for the titlepage of the New Testament, in the image Christ stands astride an empty grave with one foot on a serpent and the other on death. The Latin scriptures surrounding the oval border declare Christ's majesty.¹¹³ A similar image was copied from Holbein's original and was printed eight times in the 1570s and 1580s; it depicts the resurrected Christ holding a banner as his apostles Peter and Paul point to him from below.¹¹⁴

Undoubtedly, the importance of the Resurrection is bound up with conceptions of Christ's final judgment and his return to earth. It is, however, an event and theme that stood independently in Protestant identity. The power of the Resurrection was everywhere writ large in Protestantism. It was through the Resurrection that believers found their hope and belief in the possibility of an eternal paradise. The image was not, however, simply a reminder of this expectation. Placed on the front of theological texts, the woodcut was a declarative picture that partook in the *imitatio Christi* genre as much as any other image of Christ. Calvin referred to Christ's Resurrection as an assured representation of each believer's own rebirth into eternal life. In a sermon preached in 1573, Richard Curteys followed suit by describing the sacraments of communion and baptism as "the images of our Resurrection."¹¹⁵ Foxe explained that it was for this very reason that people should not only be devoted to the Crucifixion but also to the Resurrection and the return of Christ. He wrote, "we rest not here onely, as in the chief ground of Religion: but rather take it as a steppe, or degree too a farther matter ... the Crosse of CHRIST was not therefore erected that thou shouldest be onely a beholder thereof, but rather a follower."¹¹⁶ A person could not properly separate the Resurrection from the Crucifixion, for the former necessarily followed the latter. Foxe compared this to the believer's death to sin and the material world. Continually he called his readers to look with their mind's eye upon the risen Christ and

¹¹³ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 161; Tara Hamling, "The Appreciation of Religious Images in Plasterwork in the Protestant Domestic Interior," in Hamling and Williams, eds., *Art Re-formed*, 147–63; McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices*, plate 208. Tatiana String, *Art and Communication in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 76–78. The verses in the border of the image read: "UBI TUA MORS VICTORIA. 1COR. 15"; "CONTERENT CAPUT TUUM. GEN. 3"; "ERO MORSUS INFERMI TUUS. OSE. 13"; and "CONFIDITE VICI MUNDUM. JOA 16."

¹¹⁴ McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland*, plate 154.

¹¹⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, 448; Richard Curteys, *A sermon preached before the Queenes Majestie, by the reverende Father in God the Bishop of Chichester, at Grenewiche, the 14. day of Marche. 1573* (London, 1573), sig. B6v.

¹¹⁶ John Foxe, *Christ Jesus triumphant A fruitfull treatise* (London, 1579), sig. 16v.

even to return to the suffering Christ in this exercise, saying, "What man is this whom I behold all bloody, with skinne all too torne with knubs and wales of stripes ... crowned with a garland of Thornes ... and nayled to a Crosse?" Foxe concluded this prayer, "Open thou the eyes of my mynde. Bring thy Divine light nearer untoo mee, and give mee power too looke more wistly upon thee."¹¹⁷ Foxe creates a cycle of meditation in the Reformation mind between the death and resurrection of Christ, continually holding the measure of Christ's suffering up to the reader's life. As so often in Protestant reformulation of traditional Catholic themes, however, Foxe's description lacks the fraternal and intimate sense of its Catholic predecessors.

Conclusion

With the Resurrection image we glimpse a compulsion to visualize Protestant ideas about Christ. Although the Resurrection was predominantly used in Catholic print, it was still considered appropriate to depict in major Protestant theological works. This fact alone should challenge the oft-held assumption that Protestants naturally avoided employing anything that could be mistaken for Catholic iconography. As Martha Driver has explained, "Even with images ... associated with the old faith ... an emphasis on history ... may permit a picture ... to continue to circulate in Protestant contexts."¹¹⁸ The Reformation writers certainly plotted their own identity and narrative in contrast to those of Roman Catholics, but they were unable, and perhaps unwilling, to completely untangle their modes of devotion from the practices of medieval faith.

Protestant identity was crafted for a variety of purposes and incorporated various representations of Christ's image. It is not surprising that within a theological framework that stressed an ideal of Christ as both God and man, Christ appeared in a variety of image types. He was depicted both within the Biblical narrative and separate from it. Also, certain iconic images of Christ were regularly reprinted in various contexts, seemingly unsoiled by their links to Catholicism. Even those images that were firmly associated with Catholicism—such as the Man of Sorrows and the instruments of the Passion—found acceptable contexts in which to appear. While an anxiety about depicting Christ was pervasive among reformed

¹¹⁷ Foxe, *Christ Jesus triumphant*, sig. E6v.

¹¹⁸ Driver, *The Image in Print*, 214.

thinkers, the evidence presented here suggests that the image of Christ, far from being a popish relic, was both recycled from earlier works and rendered anew by Protestants.

Furthermore, the nature of these images was hardly static. If anything, as the Reformation in England progressed we witness greater variation in the ways in which Christ was depicted. In Elizabeth's England, the image of Christ experienced a minor revival in 1560s New Testaments, only to be eliminated almost entirely from Biblical print after 1575. But after 1575, there was an increase in images of Christ outside scripture, in devotional and even secular print. In these new contexts, Christ was not only the Saviour, he also served as an exhortation to the reader, an example to ministers, a warning against popery, and a symbol of spiritual sacrifice.

CHAPTER FIVE

SEEING GOD: PROTESTANT VISIONS OF THE FATHER

In 1572, the puritan leader Thomas Cartwright published *A Second Admonition to Parliament*, which condemned, among other things, the 1568 Bishops Bible because it contained “such a sight of blasphemous pictures of God the father.” The puritans had grown dissatisfied with the direction and, in their view, limited extent of the Elizabethan reforms, particularly their increasingly hierarchical structures and use of clerical adornments (e.g. vestments). Cartwright blasted the ecclesiastics by referring to the margin note in the Bishops Bible alongside Deuteronomy 4.15, which reads, “Meaning that plagues hang over them that wold make any image to represent God.” Interestingly, a woodcut on the previous page depicts King Josiah’s reform of Israel’s temple by burning the idolatrous images.¹ Although subsequent debates between Cartwright and bishops like John Whitgift did not address the puritan indictment of printed images, the accusation highlighted the myopic Protestant view of printed images, as all Protestants with the exception of Lutherans condemned all portrayals of God the Father.² Although many of the original anthropomorphic images in the Bishops Bible were removed after 1568, a large image of God as an old man appearing to the prophet Isaiah was printed in the 1572 edition and two subsequent editions, and many similar pictures were published in other texts.³ Puritans believed that the Elizabethan Bible was idolatrous, but most English Protestants did not share their concern, and it does not seem that the removal of the images from the Bishops Bible was due to this “puritanical censorship.”⁴

¹ W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas, eds., *Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt. With a Reprint of the Admonition to the Parliament and Kindred Documents, 1572* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1972), 118; *The holie bible. Conteynyng the olde testament and the newe* (London, 1568), O6r; the woodcut appears on O5r. [Cited as *Bishops’ Bible*].

² Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London, 1977), 25–38, 77–107.

³ Margaret Aston, “The Bishops’ Bible Illustrations,” in *The Church and the Arts*, ed. Diana Wood (Studies in Church History 28; Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 284. For the image of Isaiah’s vision see Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603*, vol. I (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1998), 96.

⁴ Aston makes this case convincingly in “The Bishops’ Bible Illustrations,” 272.

The Calvinist and Reformed ban on images of God has been well documented, and it is not my purpose here to level charges of hypocrisy against the reformers in the spirit of Thomas Cartwright.⁵ Such accusations would be simplistic and unhelpful, and they would neglect the fact that most religions and cultures exhibit similar idiosyncrasies. Rather we need to examine how and why God continued to appear in printed images during the English Reformation. Some responsibility can be placed on the Catholic community's desire for such images; however, most of the images studied here cannot be attributed to Catholic recusants. Many images of God appeared in overtly Protestant texts and illustrated particular religious themes that resided at the heart of the Reformation's agenda. Elements of traditional iconography reappeared in Protestant culture, and these continuities helped shape—and were themselves reshaped by—sixteenth-century religious identities. Instead of focusing too closely on the undeniable contradiction between Reformed theology and printed images of God, this chapter will approach the topic more constructively, examining the divine depictions within their historical context in order to understand these images as expressions of belief and culture. Here, an effort has been made to plot chronologically the printing of images of God, remaining mindful of the fact that the different representations of God were often interchangeable and were aspects of a fluctuating religious climate.

This chapter will show that images of God did not mark a strict confessional divide during the Reformation, and that the religious identity being portrayed and shaped by the images in print did not always conform to the theology being touted. Though God was at the centre of early modern belief and thought, God remained a being who transcended all human comprehension, and it was often suggested that even claims of God's incomprehensibility put too strict of boundaries on his nature.⁶ This tension between God's nature and God's fundamental importance reveals some of the most significant characteristics of religious

⁵ See e.g., Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, vol. I: *Laws against Images* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁶ Karl Barth, *The Theology of the Reformed Confessions*, trans. Darrell and Judith Guder (London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002); Justo Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. III (Knoxville, TN: Westminster John Knox Press, 1987), chs. 3, 6; B.B. Warfield, "Calvin's Doctrine of the Knowledge of God," *Princeton Theological Review* 7 (1909): 381–436; H.F. Woodhouse, *The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology, 1547–1603* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954).

identity in this period, as people grappled with representing, disseminating, and engaging spiritual truths in print without infringing upon the sacredness of God.

Traditional Images and Recycled Prints

First, it is important to take stock of the survival of pre-Reformation recycled images of God and other pictures that were created for Catholic texts. Catholicism did not speak with one voice on how God should be seen in images. Anxieties about depictions of the Trinity abounded in the early church and in the early Middle Ages. The Venerable Bede expressed concerns over certain depictions of the Trinity in Cassiodorus's sixth-century *Codex Grandior*, and by the fourteenth century images of God as a man were regularly being replaced by symbolic signs of the tri-unity of God.⁷ Anthropomorphic images of God the Father were never condemned by the Holy See, and they remained quite widespread. There was, however, a latent awareness throughout the medieval period that it was potentially dangerous to depict the divine being. As preceding chapters have indicated, Catholic worship and devotion in the late-medieval period—although they did not exclude God the Father or other representations of the Trinity—were focused on the person of Christ and the Virgin. Furthermore, questions of how God should be portrayed were accentuated by the upheavals of the sixteenth century, when there was “a continuous discussion about the way God the Father should be depicted” among Catholics, and the creative liberty that was allowed artists was often limited as a result. These restrictions reached their climax in 1625, when the Holy Inquisition saw fit to utterly condemn images of the Trinity that depicted God with one body and three faces, an image that was increasingly suspect at the time.⁸

After 1535 most images of God in Catholic texts portrayed the Trinity, with the Father and Christ as men and the Spirit as a dove, much like the

⁷ H.L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). For Bede see Celia Chazelle, “Christ and the Vision of God: The Biblical Diagrams of the Codex Amiatinus,” in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages*, eds. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 84–111.

⁸ Jan Hallebeek, “Papal Prohibitions Midway between Rigor and Laxity on the Issue of Depicting the Holy Trinity,” in *Iconoclasm and Iconoclasm: Struggle for Religious Identity*, eds. Willem van Asselt and others (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 353–86 (354). The Inquisition's condemnation was followed by a papal prohibition of such imagery, by Urban VIII in 1628.

woodcut printed by John Day in 1557 (plate 1). As we have seen, though Day was a staunch reformer, he was able to set aside his own beliefs for the sake of expediency and/or profit.⁹ The Trinity was one of the first pictures to appear in Day's primer, in keeping with the standard primer layout, though the surrounding text is more descriptive and catechetical than devotional. The intention behind such images can be found in the Dominican writer Luis de Granada's *Of prayer and meditation* (c. 1582). Placed alongside a woodcut of heaven with the Trinity are instructions in which readers are told to "consider" several things about the picture, of which only one is God. These included the "greatness of the place: The fruition of the company ... The vision of almightie God: The glorie of the Sainctes bodies: And ... the perfect fruition of all good thinges."¹⁰ Furthermore, Catholics were encouraged to think of these images of God not as though God were being accurately portrayed but instead as signs directing readers' minds to think on heavenly things. Most images that showed God the Father as an old man were usually depictions of popular scenes like the Annunciation of the Virgin or the Crucifixion, where God the Father is a tangential aspect of a larger scene.¹¹ The intent was not to marginalize God but rather to emphasize figures that late-medieval readers conceived as more sympathetic.

Images of God with traditional themes and iconography could survive into the Reformation period in both Catholic and Protestant texts, without any permanent affiliation to either. A 1540 edition of the Great Bible printed by Grafton and Whitchurch contained an exceptionally traditional image of the Trinity, with the Father crowned, Christ holding a cross, and the Holy Spirit as a dove¹² (plate 25). This image was depicted alongside an entire page of woodcuts, similar to that in the Rouen Bible discussed in the previous chapter. This image was recycled in six more Bibles between 1540 and 1542, becoming something of a standard for the two printers in

⁹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, II.88; Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), no. 349. For more on Day see Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), ch. 2.

¹⁰ Luis de Granada, *Of prayer and meditation* (Paris, 1582), 245–46. William Bishop, *A reformation of a Catholike deformed* (English secret press, 1604), 42–57.

¹¹ This seems to be the trend across Catholic Europe; an excellent example is an engraving "The Adoration of the Holy Cross" by the Antwerp artist Adriaen Collaert from the end of the sixteenth century: F.W.H. Hollstein, *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 490.

¹² Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.105.



Plate 25. The Trinity, in *The byble in Englyshe* (3rd edition) (London: Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, 1540), titlepage part 3. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

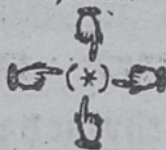
what proved to be one of the most lucrative periods before Henry VIII completed his return to more traditional religious policies.

Perhaps one of the most widely recycled of these images was the tiny picture of God enthroned with the Holy Spirit first printed by John Mayler in the theologically conservative *King's Book* (c. 1543) (plate 26). The image was quickly recycled by five different stationers in twelve different editions of various texts. It was most often associated with books about the chronology of kings and other such tables, but it also was printed in a number of religious books. Though the image is tiny (28 x 30 mm), size did not always correlate to significance. Unlike other images that will be discussed later, in this image no prophet or seer is present. The reader is granted direct access to God. Replacing the reformed innovations found in its predecessor, the *Bishop's Book*, the *King's Book* was a statement of the more conservative religious policy that dominated Henry VIII's later reign. One historian has described the book as "popery minus the Pope."¹³

¹³ Stanford Lehmberg, *The Later Parliaments of Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 185; Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, Vol. I, 241–42; Alec Ryrie,

The fourth article.

in pacence and humilite, and that we
 shoulde beate oure owne crosse, as he dydde
 beare hys and that we shoulde also hate and
 abhoire all synne, knowing for suretie, that
 who so ever dothe not in his harte, hate
 and abhoire synne, but rather accōp-
 sethe the breache and violacion of
 goddis commaundemente, but
 as a lpghte matter, and of
 smale weyght and im-
 portance, he este-
 meth not the
 pryce
 and value of the passion and death
 of Christe, accordynge to the
 dygnyte and worthynes
 thereof.



℥.ii.



Plate 26. God enthroned, in *Christian Man or The King's Book*, sig. C2r. [By permission of Lambeth Palace Library]

After its appearance in the *King's Book*, however, the image was used by the Protestant printer John Day twice: it was the only image in a 1547 Protestant manual compiled by the reformers Martin Bucer and Philip Melancthon, and it was reprinted in 1557 for another Latin primer, confirming its ability to move back and forth across confessional lines.¹⁴

An even more dramatic example of the recycling and transmission of images appeared in John Woolton's theological treatise *The immortalitie of the soule* (c. 1576) printed by Thomas Purfoote (plate 27). Known for his large printer's mark of the classical figure Lucretia, Purfoote boasted a career as a printer of humanist and secular books, with strong connections to the robust book trade in Antwerp.¹⁵ Woolton's treatise, printed in octavo, was one of several that Woolton wrote in the 1570s as brief pastoral theologies. What sets this text apart is the prominent image of the Trinity, printed on a flyleaf next to the titlepage. Surrounded by angels, God the Father enthroned and the risen Christ to his right are depicted as if in dialogue



Plate 27. The Holy Trinity, in John Woolton, *A treatise of the immortalitie of the soule* (London: Thomas Purfoote f. John Sheppard, 1576), inside titlepage. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 46–48.

¹⁴ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.284.

¹⁵ STC, III.138.

with one another.¹⁶ Printed opposite Woolton's title, the depiction represented the intercession of Christ for the salvation of godly believers. However, it should be noted that here there were no images of the cross, saints, or signs of the Passion, all of which were ubiquitous in similar pre-Reformation portrayals. Also, the image as a whole is more self-enclosed than other scenes, with the Father and the Son looking towards each other, not towards the viewer. Woolton, who would become Bishop of Exeter shortly after the publication of this text and whose ecclesiastical connections included Bishop Edmund Grindal and Dean of St Paul's Alexander Nowell, does not seem the sort of person to have permitted such a picture in his books.

Even though Purfoote was likely responsible for the image, Woolton never denounced it as idolatrous, nor did anyone else for that matter. The image's unusual placement opposite the titlepage, rather than inside the title or elsewhere in the text, indicates that it was possibly a late addition. The original of the image was created by Hans Holbein and first appeared in a Lutheran Bible frontispiece printed in Basel by Andreas Cratander in 1523. It was subsequently recycled and/or copied in several European texts, including the first complete Dutch Bible in 1526. Another possible source for the image is Woolton's publisher John Shepperd. The importation of both Dutch materials and skilled workers reached its zenith in the 1560s. Since Shepperd was the apprentice of the Dutch immigrant Reiner Wolfe, he would have had as much exposure as Purfoote to the European market.¹⁷

Woolton does not address the woodcut itself, but he does remark in the dedicatory epistle, "Neither can we see with our bodily eyes almighty God." He argued further that through contemplations such as his treatise, the mind's eye can be enlightened, for "the doctrine of the Soule then teacheth man, that god is the Creator of all things, that he is a substaunce, understanding, and everlasting."¹⁸ These statements create a communicative tension between literary and visual texts, where the literary says God is unseen and the visual clearly depicts God. If the literary text is taken at

¹⁶ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.750–51.

¹⁷ For John Shepperd see H.G. Aldis, *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1966), 242–43; Hendrik D.L. Vervliet, ed., *Post-Incunabula and Their Publishers in the Low Countries* (Amsterdam: Nijhoff, 1978), 32–33.

¹⁸ John Woolton, "The Epistle Dedicatorie," in *A treatise of the immortalitie of the soule wherein is declared the origine, nature, and powers of the same* (London, 1576), sigs. 5r, 6r.

face value, then the woodcut is not intended to be a proper, or exact, representation of God.

If it is not a depiction of God, then what is it? What sets this image apart from images like that in the *King's Book* is the overt theme of Christ's mediation for the godly, which was a common visual message in Lutheran pictures. Neither Christ nor God the Father gazes out at the reader, diminishing any potential iconic elements, in order to convey the evangelical message of Christ's salvation. Interestingly, the same sentiments were embodied in the more reformed work *The image of both churches* by John Bale (c. 1545). Among numerous images of God, Bale reminded his readers, "Hee dwelleth not in Temples made by hand, he resteth not in houses of mans preparation. Is the kingdom of God any where els then within man? Hath God any Temple that hee more favoureth then mans faithfull harte?"¹⁹ Protestant rhetoric stressed that no actual visualization of God could exist; God himself could not be found in pictures. Rather, people should seek him in the spaces of their minds and hearts alone, and the printed image seems to have been employed as a means to direct readers to this truth. There is a hint here of the self-annihilation of images that Joseph Koerner discusses in his study, by which the image ceases to be a pictorial representation and becomes more of a visual utterance, complementing rather than illustrating the literary text. These images of God communicated a message of God's transcendent and incommunicable nature, and by portraying such themes, the images were directing the reader away from the visual.²⁰

Similar printed images originating in Europe came from early printings of the thirteenth-century philosophical encyclopaedia *De proprietatibus rerum* by the Franciscan Bartholomaeus Anglicus, which was reproduced in Reformation England by Stephen Batman and re-titled *Batman uppon Bartholome* (c. 1582).²¹ The work was likely discovered by Batman in the 1560s while he collected manuscripts for Archbishop Parker's library. Although the text had been printed in 1495 by Wynkyn de Worde with nineteen woodcuts, Batman's edition more closely resembled Jacobus Bellaert's Dutch edition, printed in Haarlem around 1485. While de Worde was inspired by Bellaert, his woodcuts demonstrate greater originality; East's images were exact reproductions of the Dutchman's. Two of the

¹⁹ Bale, *The image of both churches*, sig. 52v.

²⁰ Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2004), 117–19, 190.

²¹ Jurgen Schafer, "Introduction," in Stephen Batman, *Batman uppon Bartholome, his booke De Proprietatibus Rerum* (London, 1582; reprinted New York: G. Olms, 1976), v.

images reproduced by East depict God the Father.²² The first of these full folio images, printed opposite the frontispiece, pictured God the Father alone, crowned and enthroned and with a sceptre, gazing forward directly at the reader and surrounded by a void of darkness. Here, unlike the following images, there is no accompanying text, because this image is God, alone, before the genesis of the world. Such pictures were rare in medieval Catholicism, and this is perhaps the only one that was printed in Reformation England.

In the second image, God is enthroned above with angels, as the evil angels are cast down from heaven. These pictures were parts of a sequence of images depicting the scriptural narrative that traced events from before Creation through the entire six days of Creation.²³ Even in the pre-Reformation editions, the images are certainly intended as educational tools, in keeping with the purpose of the book. However, their bold iconic imagery and the fact that they were full folio page woodcuts would have made them ideal for other more devotional contexts. The late printing of Batman's book, in the 1580s, is striking, but no less noteworthy is the ability of such pre-Reformation images of God to persist in texts, seen and studied by readers throughout the century. Although images of God the Father had limited devotional verve attached to them, even in Catholic texts, the consistent ability of printers to recycle these traditional images of the divine indicate a rich continuity within English culture in how God was visualized, portrayed, and understood. God may have been transcendent, but readers continued to have access to him in visual texts that were easily understood and could convey a variety of messages whose import depended upon an individual's religious identity.

God in Illustrated Bibles

Where Catholic theologians allowed for images of God with some reservations, reformed Protestants almost universally condemned any attempt to depict God the Father. Calvin laid the groundwork, exclaiming that even forging an understanding of God in one's mind that surpassed scriptural

²² Rivkah Zim, "Batman, Stephan (1542–1584)," ODNB; M.B. Parkes, "Stephan Batman's Manuscripts," in *Medieval Heritage: Essays in Honour of Tadahiro Ikegami*, eds. M. Kanno and others (Tokyo: Yushodo, 1997), 125–56; Martha Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and Its Sources* (London: British Library, 2004), 41.

²³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), ch. 7.

mandate was idolatrous. Instead, he explained, it was better “to know what kind of being God is, and what things are agreeable to his nature” in order to completely avoid the temptation. Because God was “eternal, infinite, immeasurable, incomprehensible, and invisible, one in substance and three in persons,” any representation of him would fail to properly and sufficiently display his majesty.²⁴ English reformers followed suit. Thomas Cranmer and Henry VIII disagreed about condemning images of God in the *King's Book*, with the latter wishing to avoid any language that censured the images. In 1549, the future bishop and martyr John Hooper exhorted readers, “we in no case represent or manifest God invisible and incomprehensible, with any figure or image.”²⁵ By the Elizabethan period, it seemed an *a priori* principle that, as Keith Thomas explains, “Pictures of God as an old man or of the holy ghost as a dove were forbidden.”²⁶ The Tudor devotional writer Thomas Becon confirmed that any such images were the influence of the Antichrist. Likewise, Edward Dering railed against them saying, “if thou do make any similitude in the worlde, to represent God: Thou hast now turned the trueth of God into a lie, & changed the glorie of the incorruptible God, to the likenes of the image of a corruptible creature.”²⁷ God was beyond picturing because of both his spiritual nature and his incorruptible glory, and Protestant divines in England from the 1540s onwards claimed that any visual portrayal of God should not be permitted.

As discussed in chapter two, even Calvinists like William Perkins continued to permit the “historicall use of images to be good and lawfull: and that is, to represent to the eye the actes of histories, whether they be

²⁴ Arthur Cochrane, ed., *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century* (London: S.C.M., 1966), 131. The most popular text on the nature of God by a reformer at this time was Heinrich Bullinger, “Of God: Of the true knowledge of God, and of the diverse ways how to know Him; that God is one in substance, and three in persons,” *Sermon III, The Decades of Heinrich Bullinger*, vol. IV, ed. Thomas Harding (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1852), 123–73.

²⁵ Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, 243; John Hooper, *A Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandementes in Early Writings of John Hooper*, ed. S. Carr (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1843), 317.

²⁶ Keith Thomas, “Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England,” in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, eds. Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 16–40 (18).

²⁷ Thomas Becon, *The actes of Christe and of Antichriste* (London, 1577), sig. E1r; Edward Dering, *XXVII. lectures, or readings, upon part of the epistle written to the Hebrues* (London, 1577), 33–34. It was also a substantial point in the Elizabethan homilies: Anon., “An homilie against perill of Idolatrie, and superstitious decking of Churches,” in *Certaine Sermons or HOMILIES Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547–1571)*, eds. Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1968), sigs. 2D1r–2D1v.

humane, or divine: and thus we thinke the histories of the Bible may be painted in private places.”²⁸ These private places would have included books, even Bibles. However, what Perkins intended by divine acts or how such things should be portrayed was never fully elucidated. Nor does he explain how one could or should illustrate these scenes properly, particularly if representations of God were completely off limits. The next chapter will offer some possible solutions to this conflict in Protestant culture, but for now, we should note that the reformers’ failure to eradicate traditional imagery was not due simply to a lack of manpower or incompetence. There was within the Protestant understanding of images a deep ambiguity about certain Biblical scenes, many of which contained God the Father. Along with the theological complexities, reformers were faced with their own illustrated Bibles. The tradition of Biblical illustration was established in the mid-fifteenth century with block books and the *Biblia pauperum*, which were replaced by more elaborate woodcuts and engravings by the end of the century. This tradition was adopted in the English Bible translated and printed by Miles Coverdale in Cologne (c. 1535), which came complete with sixty-four printed images that were reproduced in a Bible during Edward VI’s reign (c. 1549) and again in a humanist dialogue in the 1560s.²⁹ Illustrations quickly became an important aspect of the English Bible, one that would prove difficult for the most iconoclastic of puritans to eradicate.³⁰ Images of God the Father appeared in most of the early Protestant Bibles when appropriate to the literary text. By the Elizabethan period, these images were widespread. Moreover, these scriptures were intended to provide structure to people’s daily experiences and their understanding of their lives. The homily “To the reading of Scripture” explained, “These Bookes therefore ought to bee much in our hands, in our eyes, in our eares, in our mouthes, but most of all in our heartes.”³¹ Scripture was meant to connect with as much of human perception as possible, to saturate it. The image initiated the eyes into this sensory submersion, and it engaged the eye of the mind by stressing the importance of the scene. Only through such total engagement in the message of

²⁸ William Perkins, *The workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, M.W. Perkins. The first volume* (London, 1626), 587.

²⁹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.91.

³⁰ Driver, *The Image in Print*, 5–30; Richard Williams, “Religious Pictures and Sculpture in Elizabethan England: Censure, Appreciation and Devotion” (PhD thesis, University of London, 2003), 22–32. See also Tara Hamling, “To See or Not to See? The Presence of Religious Imagery in the Protestant Household,” *Art History* 30 (2007): 170–97.

³¹ Anon., “To the reading of scripture,” in *Certaine Sermons or HOMILIES*, sig. A1v.

the text would Protestants learn to live as God's people. As Richard Day wrote in his prayer book, "The meat that geveth life in deéde, is the knowl-edge of theé by thy holy Scriptures, and the grace of thy spirit, whereby we grow up in theé through daily increase of vertue in the inner man."³²

The titlepage for both the Old and New Testaments of the 1537 Coverdale Bible printed in Antwerp by Matthias Crom depicted the major events of the Biblical narrative, summarizing the very Lutheran message of Law and Grace (plate 28). The original frontispiece was printed by Ludwig Dietz of Rostock in his Low-German Lutheran Bible, and the image was then copied for the English Bible. Six major scenes fill the page, beginning with God giving the Ten Commandments to Moses in the upper left corner and moving clockwise around as follows: the Annunciation with an angel carrying a cross down to the Virgin, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, Death, and the Fall of Adam and Eve. The basic imagery of the page can be read in several different ways, either individually, in pairs (on either side of the title), or circularly (clockwise or counter-clockwise). The intention was to illustrate the *evangelion*, the gospel message, represented by three men at the base of the image, two standing and one sitting. All three direct their attention towards the image of the Crucifixion.³³ The men are not actually looking at the Crucifixion with their eyes, but rather recalling it in their mind's eye so as to describe it in the gospels. While readers could engage with both the image and the text, the illiterate would have needed only this page to view the entire Gospel message. On the following page, the second image was a large picture of the Garden of Eden, a popular Elizabethan motif, showing God staring down on Adam and Eve before the Fall. It was a depiction of what had been lost after Adam disobeyed God—the unadulterated peace and purity of the world before sin—and it was a theme that would be picked up in later Elizabethan illustrations.

Certainly, the message was distinctly Protestant, both in keeping the Fall close to mind and in emphasizing salvation through Christ. However, the Bible did not depict the Protestantism of Calvin's Geneva. Many of the images from these early Coverdale and Great Bibles were recycled by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch from woodcuts created by European artists like Hans Sebald Beham, Hans Holbein, and

³² Richard Day, *A booke of Christian prayers* (London, 1578), sig. E1v.

³³ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.96; Ronald B. McKerrow and F.S. Ferguson, *Title-Page Borders Used in England & Scotland 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1932 [for 1931]), plate 32; A.F. Johnson, *German Renaissance Title-Borders* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1929), plate 72.

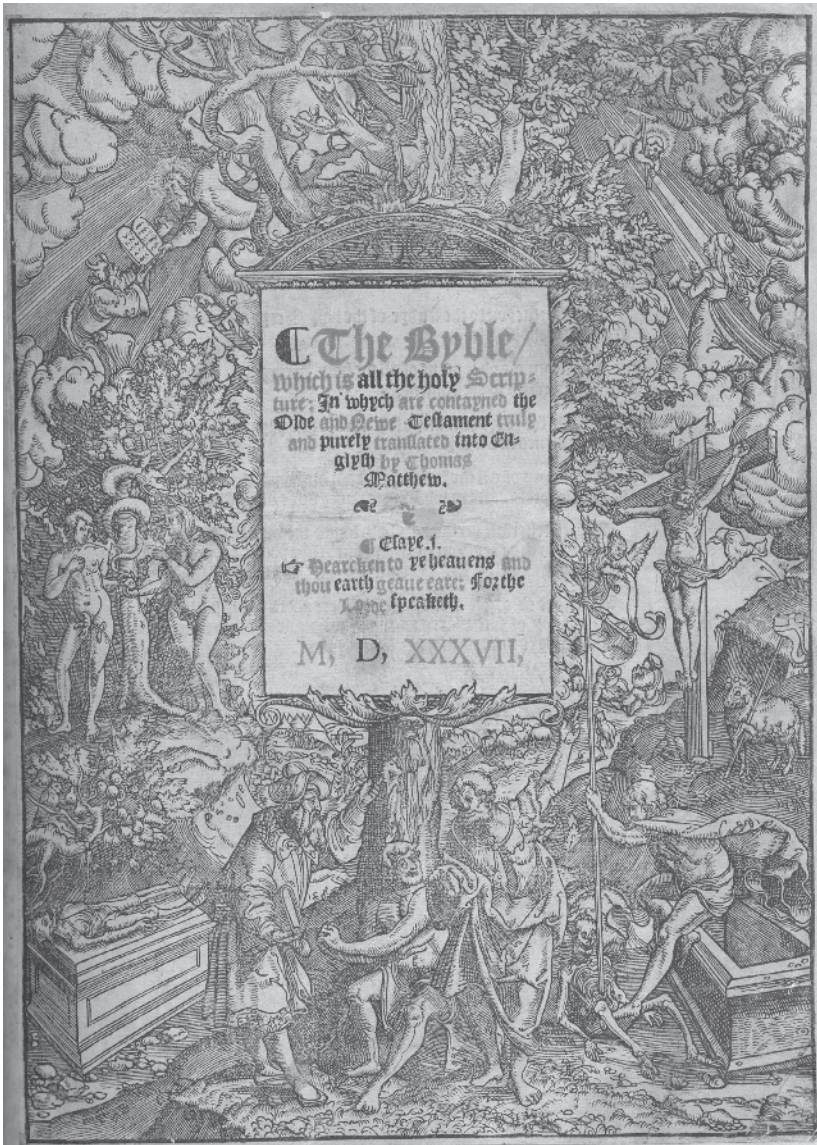


Plate 28. Allegory of Law and Grace, in *The bible, which is all the holy scripture* (Matthew Bible) (Antwerp: Matthias Crom f. Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch in London, 1537), New Testament titlepage. [By permission of the Newberry Library]

Jacob Faber.³⁴ Several images of Moses and God anthropomorphized appeared in these early Bibles (plate 29). The image of Moses on Mount Sinai kneeling before God first appeared in the Great Bible of 1539. It was then recycled in nine more Bibles before Queen Mary's reign, and then one final time in Richard Harrison's 1562 edition of the Great Bible.³⁵ In many of its appearances, the figure of Moses was used for other prophets, including Micah and Ezekiel, as it became a more generalized portrayal of prophetic revelation.

The Harrison Bible had seventy-nine images, seventy-five of which originated from the Coverdale Bibles of the 1530s. Along with the two images discussed above, Harrison's Bible contained ten such envisionings of God in some form. Most of these divine images depicted the appearances of God to Moses and were reused for other prophets who had visions of God.



Plate 29. Moses on Mount Sinai kneeling, in *The byble in Englyshe* (Paris: Francois Regnault, and London: Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, 1539), sig. f7r. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

³⁴ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.96–97.

³⁵ *The bible in Englyshe* (London, 1562), 2T4v.

The woodcuts became typological, generalizing the visual representation of the Old Testament prophet who receives a divine revelation. Among the unique images in the Harrison Bible is an image of Peter's vision of the unclean animals that depicts the angels and God above. In the corresponding scripture (Acts 10), it is stated that Peter "fell into a trance" in which he sees the vision and hears God's voice; there is, however, no mention in the text of God appearing in any form to Peter. This sort of artistic licence was not completely unknown. A Bible printed by Stephen Mierdman around 1549 and a Tyndale New Testament printed in Antwerp around 1542 contained similar scenes of Peter's vision.³⁶ Although Lutheranism had little traction in Elizabethan England, it does seem to have appealed to certain sectors, and the Harrison Bible provides an example of an alternative Protestantism in late-Tudor England. In many ways, it was the last of its kind.

The images of God in the Harrison Bible were never reprinted, and these woodcuts in general paled aesthetically and numerically beside those created by Virgil Solis and printed in the Bishops Bible.³⁷ God the Father appears numerous times in woodcuts of the Old Testament, including many instances where the text contained no mention of an appearance of God. One image depicts the covenant made with Noah after the flood, with the crowned figure of God appearing in the sky³⁸ (plate 30). Although the puritan *Admonition to Parliament* condemned these kinds of images, it is interesting to note that the puritan criticism directed at printed images of God in 1572 merely echoed the comments made by Thomas Cranmer during the Edwardian reforms. With a copy of the Coverdale Bible, with all its pictures, possibly on a shelf nearby or even open upon his desk, Cranmer condemned the Catholic "ymage (as thei cal it) of ye Trinitie, where they portured God ye father lyke an olde man with a long hore berd. And what can symple people learne herby, but erre, and ignorance?"³⁹ While Cranmer was specifically refuting the concept of

³⁶ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.107, 175–77.

³⁷ Compare with the arguments laid out by Andrew Johnston, "Lutheranism in Disguise: The Corte Instruccye of Cornelius van der Heyden," *Dutch Review of Church History* 63 (1998): 23–29, and Alec Ryrie, "The Strange Death of Lutheran England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002): 64–92. Margaret Aston has provided a full analysis of the images in the 1568 Bishops' Bible, so I have focused my attention elsewhere. For the images discussed here, see Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.123–30.

³⁸ *The holie bible conteynynge the olde testament and the newe* (London, 1568), sig. A6v; Aston, "The Bishops' Bible Illustrations," 267–85.

³⁹ Thomas Cranmer, *Catechismus, that is to say, a shorte instruction into Christian religion for the synguler commoditie and profyte of childe[n] and yong people* (London, 1548), sig. Dir.



Plate 30. God's covenant with Noah, in *The holie bible conteyning the olde testament and the newe* (Bishops Bible) (London: Richard Jugge, 1568), sig. A6v. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

laymen's books, there remains the glaring question of how this tradition of Protestant illustration could have been sustained alongside the sharp criticisms of depictions of the divine.

In the late-sixteenth century, Williams Perkins returned to the topic of images of God in *A reformed catholike*, wherein he addressed one of the main arguments against the Protestant condemnation of divine images. He stated the traditional objection that since

God appeared in the forme of a man to Abraham ... and to Daniel, who sawe the auncient of daies sitting on a throne ... Nowe as God appeared, so may he be resembled: therefore (say they) it is lawful to resemble God in the forme of a man or any like image in which he shewed himselfe to men.

Then Perkins responded to himself saying,

God may appeare in whatsoever forme it pleaseth his majestie; yet doth it not followe, that man should therefore resemble God in those formes: man having no libertie to resemble him in any forme at all: unles he be commanded so to doe ... And therefore he that would in these formes represent

the Trinitie, doth greatly dishonour God, and do that for which he hath no warrant.⁴⁰

Here, Perkins captured the Calvinist belief in God's self-representation, stating that unless commanded by God, images of God are not to be produced. Whether these images were of the anthropomorphic God, the holy sacrament, or the Holy Spirit as a dove, all of these signs were temporary and were not intended as permanent representations of God. There are no stipulations concerning place or worship here. Like Protestants before and after him, Perkins proclaimed a categorical condemnation of representations of God. Nevertheless, the images in Elizabethan Bibles betray a more complex understanding of the position of visual images in Protestant culture. Also, as Margaret Aston has demonstrated, the images were used outside Bibles long after those Bibles had ceased to be printed, surviving in broadside ballads of the 1620s. Aston explains that the images separated from their ecclesiastical context were merely used "to provide atmosphere or, most prosaically of all, to promote sales."⁴¹ Perhaps this is true of Stuart ballads; however, during the Elizabethan period such images were used in a more effective and intentionally religious way. In particular, the presence of divine visions in scripture provided an important, albeit complicated, theme for depictions of God.

The Exception of Divine Visions

The appearance of God in visible form in Biblical narratives presented several problems. Old Testament figures who encountered the divine included Moses, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. In the New Testament, most prominently Peter, at the house of the centurion Cornelius, and John the Apostle, on the island of Patmos, had similar visions.⁴² The reality of these events was beyond doubt, but it was unclear how those visions should be read and applied to life. The context of these visions was itself important. Biblical visions were considered exceptional events because the prophets themselves were exceptional individuals and during their visions they were disconnected from their physical senses, seeing directly with the eye

⁴⁰ Perkins, *The workes ... The first volume* (London, 1626), 588.

⁴¹ Margaret Aston, "Bibles to Ballads: Some Pictorial Migrations in the Reformation," in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 106–30 (quote at 129). Although insightful in her analysis, I think Aston has bemoaned the separation of images from Bibles perhaps a bit too much.

⁴² Exodus 19; Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1; Daniel 7; Acts 10; Revelation 1.

of the mind. In his lectures on the book of Revelation, William Perkins stated that the prophets had been drawn “from fellowship with the bodie and all the senses, to have fellowship with God, that so the spirit of God may enlighten it with light and knowledge of things which are to be revealed to it. And so we see in other extasies and traunces.”⁴³ This was a common description in most of the popular commentaries of the day. William Fulke likewise stated that visions ravished the person “from himselfe, and that his bodely senses in the meane time rested, that his minde might be more free in beholding those thinges which the Lorde shewed vnto him.” Even the philosopher and occultist Cornelius Agrippa agreed with the reformers that in such dreams one has “illumination of the intellect acting beyond our soul; or through the undiluted revelation of some divine being after the mind has been cleansed and is tranquil.”⁴⁴ However, this theological manoeuvring did not completely explain or justify illustrations of these Biblical scenes, particularly those in which the Son and the Father were clearly delineated and God was anthropomorphized. In total, five different series of printed images depicting the visions in the Revelation of St John—created by European artists like Hans Holbein, Lucas Cranach, and Virgil Solis—were printed in over forty-five editions of Protestant New Testaments and Bibles in England during the Reformation.⁴⁵ Also popular were images of the Old Testament visions that appeared to the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah. These divine visions were some of the most widely disseminated Biblical images in Protestant visual culture and certainly the most popular when it came to copying, recreating, and recycling.⁴⁶

One of the most striking examples of these vision images was the woodcut of Ezekiel's vision that appeared in the 1560 Geneva Bible (plate 31).

⁴³ William Perkins, *The workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, M.W. Perkins. The third and last volume* (London, 1631), 238.

⁴⁴ William Fulke, *Praelections upon the sacred and holy Revelation of S. John* (London, 1573), sig. B2v; Cornelius Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, in *The Occult in Early Modern Europe: A Documentary History*, ed. and trans. P.G. Maxwell-Stuart (London: Macmillan, 1999), 17. Stuart Clark has discussed visionary experiences in great detail in his study of early modern sight. His acute research into the intellectual trends and traditions has been very enlightening in many respects. However, Clark makes only passing reference to the Biblical motifs and themes, including prophetic/divine visions, that informed early modern visionary experiences, which in my view diminishes the impact of his study, as scriptural visions were exemplars for their early modern counterparts, both in content and in epistemic warrant (*Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007], ch. 6).

⁴⁵ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.84.

⁴⁶ I am indebted to the Medieval and Early Modern Workshop at Rice University for their feedback and constructive ideas on this point.



Plate 31. Vision of Ezekiel, in *The bible and holy scriptures conteyned in the olde and newe testament. According to the Ebrue and Greke. With moste profitable annotations* (Geneva Bible) (Geneva: R. Hall, 1560), sig. 3N3v. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

Taken mostly from Calvin's French Bible, the Geneva Bible was published by Marian exiles, complete with notes, tables, four maps, and twenty-six woodcuts.⁴⁷ Because of its manageable quarto size, limited illustrations, and extensive margin notes, this was a more accessible text, both intellectually and financially, for the layman. Moreover, it seems to have been designed "for a wide stratification of literacy skills," with particular attention paid to the needs of the limited reader. The letter to the reader described how the work attempts to make the more complex points of scripture "easie to the simple reader ... with figures and notes."⁴⁸ Though literacy rates were still quite low, the authors were conscious of a variety of readers, or what Heidi Brayman Hackel has described as "imperfect readers," including most women and children and men of limited education.⁴⁹ Femke Molekamp's study has revealed the extensive uses and interactions between early modern readers and the Geneva Bible's aids to the reader. These readers came in many different intellectual shapes and sizes, spanning the social gauntlet from the puritan cleric William Leigh to Anna Bromley, daughter of Lord Chancellor Thomas Bromley, and the noblewoman Susanna Beckwith.⁵⁰ So adamant were many reformers that every person have access to such a Bible that the minister Nicholas Bound suggested that illiterate people should purchase a Bible so "that when any come [into their houses] that can read, they may have it in a readiness."⁵¹ While the Bishops Bible was licensed as the scripture of the church, the Geneva Bible became the household Bible, particularly in the 1570s.⁵²

⁴⁷ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.115–18; Basil Hall, "The Genevan Version of the English Bible: Its Aim and Achievements," in *The Bible, the Reformation and the Church: Essays in Honour of James Atkinson*, ed. W.P. Stephens (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1996), 124–49; M.S. Betteridge, "The Bitter Notes: The Geneva Bible and Its Annotations," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14 (1983): 41–62.

⁴⁸ Femke Molekamp, "Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices: The British Library Geneva Bibles and a History of Their Early Modern Readers," *e-British Library Journal*, article 10 (2006): 8; *The bible and holy scriptures conteyned in the olde and newe testament. According to the Ebrue and Greke. With moste profitable annotations. [Geneva version]* (Geneva, 1560), sig. 4v [henceforth *Geneva Bible*].

⁴⁹ Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 72.

⁵⁰ Molekamp, "Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices," 9. Femke Molekamp, "'Of the Incomparable Treasure of the Holy Scriptures': The Geneva Bible in the Early Modern Household," in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, eds. Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2009), 121–37 (126–27).

⁵¹ Nicholas Bound, *The Doctrine of the Sabbath* (London, 1595), 202.

⁵² Molekamp, "Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices," 1–5; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 77–80, 86–96.

The woodcuts in the Geneva Bible were specifically intended to serve as readers' aids. A letter key accompanied the image of Ezekiel's vision, briefly describing the various objects in the picture. This image, seemingly a contradiction of staunch iconoclastic sentiments, appeared in all subsequent Elizabethan editions of this Bible. The letter to the reader briefly explained how the reader should use the image,

whereas certayne places in the booke of Moses, of the Kings and Ezekiel semed so darke that by no description thei colde be made easie to the simple reader, we have so set them forth with figures and notes for the ful declaration thereof ... yet by the perspective, and as it were by the eye may sufficiently knowe the true meaning of all suche places.⁵³

This illustration was not intended as a layman's book in the traditional sense, as a visual text for the illiterate. Rather, it was meant as a visual exposition for the simple reader with a limited understanding of theology, in order to clarify the text. Calvin himself admitted that when it came to Ezekiel's vision, "I can scarcely understand it."⁵⁴ Nevertheless, it is profoundly significant that the reformers working on the Geneva Bible advocated using an image to expound a literary text in order to provide clarity, for images were often thought to obscure the truth of scripture.

While it is difficult to ignore the possibility that such an image would have attracted the illiterate and semi-literate alike, a reader could only understand its intended meaning if he or she could read. Also, it should be noted that in the text God appeared to Ezekiel "like the appearance of a man." Such an image in word and picture established a precedent for Elizabethan illustration, for it gave a degree of credence to the traditional imagery of God as an old man. Even *A Second Admonition to Parliament* contained a sort of duplicity when it came to the Geneva Bible images. On the one hand, puritans condemned the anthropomorphic images in the Bishops Bible as "blasphemous pictures of God the father," but on the other hand, the author touted the Geneva Bible, asking "whye the Geneva translation and notes of the Bible finde so little favoure, althoughe to this day no translation is so good in England."⁵⁵

This position was not altogether self-contradictory. The 1568 Bishops Bible displayed many images of God, but the Geneva Bible limited the

⁵³ "To Our Beloved in the Lord," *Geneva Bible*, sig. *** 4v; Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I, 115–18.

⁵⁴ John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Prophet Ezekiel*, vol. I, trans. and ed. Thomas Myers (Edinburgh, 1849), 62.

⁵⁵ Frere and Douglas, eds., *Puritan Manifestoes*, 118, 83–84.

anthropomorphic pictures to a single vision, which was innovative for English Bibles in 1560.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, even though the Geneva Bible moved closer to complete elimination of images of God, it did not achieve this iconophobic ideal. Because of this, Margaret Aston has suggested, “the depiction of visionary or dream appearances could be seen as belonging to a different category.”⁵⁷ In a way, these visions were exceptions to the general condemnation of divine images. As they were recorded in the flawless Word and induced by the Spirit of God, they provided an indisputable record of the appearance of the divine.⁵⁸ This, however, proved to be a thin line that was easily crossed. Neither of the Bibles discussed above met the standard established by the 1563 homily, which used the vision of Ezekiel to implore, “no similitude can be made unto GOD, in gold silver stone, or any other matter,” suggesting that even divine visions should not be made into images.⁵⁹

Other elements also made the image of Ezekiel’s vision unique. It was set apart in the Geneva Bible by its depiction of the Roman god “AQUILON,” the god of the north wind. The Biblical text described how a small whirlwind came out of the north. The image depicts Aquilon literally spewing forth the vision, perhaps a further indication to the reader that this image should not be taken as an accurate portrayal but is rather intended as a simplistic, verbatim representation of Ezekiel’s description. The awkward placement of the woodcut in the page, within the chapter text, underpins this purpose. Traditionally, narrative images were placed at the beginning of the books and chapters that they illustrated. Here, however, the reading of the text would have been interrupted by this large image, which is introduced between verses four and five. Before the reader can establish within his or her own imagination what is going on in the scene, a visual display is provided to fix the image in the mind’s eye. Its didactic key accentuated this framing of the reader’s imagination by labelling and identifying each figure. Such strictures and framing kept the mind from constructing its own dangerous fantasies.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Bishops’ Bible*, A3v.

⁵⁷ Aston, “The Bishops’ Bible Illustrations,” 280.

⁵⁸ Williams Perkins summarizes late-Elizabethan thought on the reliability of the prophets’ accounts: Perkins, *The works ... the third and last volume*, 234.

⁵⁹ Anon., “An homilie against perill of Idolatrie,” sig. 2D1v.

⁶⁰ Similar attempts to direct the readers’ interpretation of a text have been examined by William Slights, *Managing Readers: Printing Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

A similar image, of the prophet Isaiah's vision, was printed in later folio editions of the Bishops Bible, but it also differed in several regards from the Ezekiel image (plate 32). Copied from the 1537 Coverdale Bible printed in Antwerp, its three appearances in the 1570s made it one of the longest lasting English Bible illustrations. In three printings in the 1570s, the image appeared at the beginning of the book of Isaiah, rather than alongside the actual vision in Isaiah 6. The image highlights Isaiah's vision, for it appears in a Bible with few illustrations.⁶¹ God is depicted surrounded by angels and shrouded by a cloud of smoke that plumes from an altar. Below this scene, Isaiah kneels before an angel carrying a lump of burning coal to touch to the prophet's lips, as a symbol of cleansing. What is most significant about this depiction is that it suggests that more than one person is seeing the vision. The text describes the prophet as being alone, but the image portrays godly and ungodly being physically affected by the divine



Plate 32. Vision of Isaiah, in the *The holie bible* (Bishops Bible) (London: Richard Jugge, 1572), sig. 3K3v. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

⁶¹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.96.

appearance: the godly on the left kneel and gaze up at the sight; the ungodly flee in fear.

Several other Elizabethan woodcuts represented this theme of heavenly visions. The obsession with the apocalyptic books of the Bible, such as Daniel and Revelation, went beyond mere expectation of Christ's return.⁶² They called to mind the promise by the prophet Joel that "your sonnes and your daughters shal prophecie: your olde men shal dreame dreames, and your yong men shal se visions." Early modern readers studying the Geneva Bible would have read the margin note connected with this verse, which said, "As they had visions, and dreames in old time, so shal they now have clearer revelations" (Joel 2.28). The margin notes to Revelation 10.7 even exhorted the reader to "understand and se this mysteerie of the last judgement" in terms of their own lives and experiences.⁶³ The continual appearances of prophets and pseudo-messiahs in the sixteenth century is indicative of a popular way of understanding Biblical visions, as events that were intended not merely to be read but also to be experienced. Heinrich Bullinger's popular commentary on Revelation emphatically stated,

Christ biddeth John ascende into the supercelestiall places: not in body, but in mynde. Therefore must our mynde be lifted up into the contemplation of heauenly thynges, and be poured as much as may be from earthly affections, that we may behold heauenly thynges with an heauenly contemplation.⁶⁴

Visionaries like Enoch ap Evan, Edmund Gennings, and the notorious William Hacket put such exhortations into practice, often drawing directly from scriptural exemplars. Hacket's friend Edmund Coppinger described his own encounters with God in the exact terms of many commentaries on divine visions, saying he was "inwardlie ravished in the spirite."⁶⁵

⁶² Richard Bauckham, *Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation: From John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

⁶³ *Geneva Bible*, sig. 3Y3v, margin note k. on sig. 3G1v.

⁶⁴ Heinrich Bullinger, *A hundred sermons vpon the Apocalypse of Iesu Christ reueiled by the angell of the Lord* (London, 1573), 64.

⁶⁵ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), 149, 153–57; Alexandra Walsham, "'Frantick Hacket': Prophecy, Sorcery, Insanity and the Elizabethan Puritan Movement," *Historical Journal* 41 (1998): 27–66; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 204–5. John Throkmorton, *The defence of Job Throkmorton against the slaunders of Maister Sutcliffe taken out of a copye of his owne hande* (London, 1594), sig. A4v.

Although Revelation was recognized as the most difficult book of scripture to comprehend, there was a significant body of commentary to aid both the minister and layman. In the very popular book *The ruine of Rome*, Arthur Dent argued, "If we be not exceeding dull, yea, even like stockes and stones, it must needs move us and stir us up."⁶⁶ Visionaries were in a way mimicking and acting out what was being emphasized by a large proportion of Protestant reformers. The power of such Biblical visions was found in the promise of the future and the fulfilment of God's kingdom in an individual's life and in the nation at large. They also offered a type of knowledge that was not gained by education, political power, or through the church. Though some divines avoided Revelation and even encouraged preachers to dissuade the people from reading the book, others believed it was of extreme importance, particularly as political events were assigned prophetic significance.⁶⁷ Also, many extra-Biblical texts alluded to and referenced Revelation, so it is understandable that much of the book's imagery became part of the visual culture. Some of the best-known Revelation images were those printed in John Bale's apocalyptic commentary *The image of both churches*, which was produced six times between 1545 and 1580. Originally printed in 1545 by Stephen Mierdman, *The image of both churches* was popular with Edwardian and Elizabethan Protestants. Its final printing in 1580 was undertaken by Thomas East using fourteen of the original nineteen woodcuts, which were copies of a Revelation series made by Hans Sebald Beham and printed in Nuremburg.⁶⁸ This image series had first been used in England for a 1549 printing of Tyndale's New Testament. Images of John's revelation were, however, more than pictures of Biblical stories. They were God's message on the future of his church writ visually. Bale's text was popular not only because it explained a complicated part of scripture, but also because it related heavenly mysteries to the contemporary world in a format that was memorable, evocative, and easily grasped.

⁶⁶ Arthur Dent, "To the Christian Reader," in *The ruine of Rome* (London, 1603), sig. A3v. The pastoral implications of these commentaries have been recently examined in Patrick O'Banion, "The Pastoral Use of the Book of Revelation in Late Tudor England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57 (2006): 711–37.

⁶⁷ On the divisions among theologians see Kevin Sharpe, "Reading Revelations: Prophecy, Hermeneutics and Politics in Early Modern Britain," in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, eds. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 122–63.

⁶⁸ John Bale, *The image of both churches* (London, 1570); Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.48–51.

Like other Protestant commentators, Bale described John's experience as something akin to an out-of-body journey into the heavens, separated from his sensory perception,

Suspende thyne owne wil, wit, studie, practise, and judgement. Condemne yet thou hast of nature. Lift up thy self above thy self, ascend in soule by the spirite and power of God, and I will shewe unto thee thinges wonderfull ... I was in the spirit in deed, secluded from all carnal imaginations.⁶⁹

Thus, images of God were not out of the question, particularly if they depicted that which John experienced. For John did not see things with his carnal eyes. This was an encounter of the soul and the mind. It was as though the eye of John's mind was momentarily detached from his physical vision to see something clearly and directly, surpassing the corruption of the material world. This adds veracity not only to John's vision but also to its visual display in print. In 1573, the newly appointed Bishop of Lincoln, Thomas Cooper, wrote in his pastoral *A brieft exposition*, "It is a vision, that is, a prophesie or revelation declared by almightie God: and therefore not to be esteemed as any mans devise."⁷⁰ What John saw was uncorrupted, and it seems that visual descriptions or representations of the event were tenable within Protestant dogma and could even prove useful. Interestingly, as with the tiny image of God enthroned from the *King's Book*, the reader saw not the prophet having a vision but the vision itself. Only when the images are read alongside the text will the reader understand that he or she is seeing something in the prophet's mind. Without the text, the vision becomes a direct depiction of heaven.

In non-Biblical printed images, visions were one of the last contexts within which God was anthropomorphized in Reformation England. In 1580, John Charlewood printed the image of John on Patmos receiving his revelation from God, as depicted in Thomas Twynne's *A shorte and pithie discourse, concerning earthquakes*.⁷¹ Twynne's quarto pamphlet is a contemporary description of earthquakes and other natural phenomena and how God's providence might speak through such events. The image connected contemporary events, like the great earthquake that shook London in April 1580, with the apocalyptic themes of Revelation, illustrating the meaning and divine purpose of such phenomena. In the epigram, Twynne reasserts this theme by quoting Revelation 22.20 and offers an interesting

⁶⁹ Bale, *The image of both churches*, sig. 52r.

⁷⁰ Thomas Cooper, *A brieft exposition of such chapters of the olde testament as vsually are redde in the church at common praier* (London, 1573), 2.

⁷¹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.586.

example of how divine visions, and their images, could inform early modern society. In visualizations of the natural disasters placed side-by-side with the apocalyptic genre of Revelation, Biblical truth is transformed into an analysis of contemporary importance. What becomes apparent from such examples is that pictures of Biblical scenes were as malleable and multifunctional as the literary texts of the scenes, equally capable of illustrating and interpreting ancient and contemporary events.

In the same year, Charlewood put the image to use again in a text he purchased from Henry Denham. In his printing of the romance adventure story *The fontaine of fame*, Anthony Munday's narrative about the travels of Zelauto, Charlewood used the image of revelation as well as other woodcuts he had bought from Henry Denham.⁷² The text stated, "I reveale such things unto you, as I have no doubt but you shall be comforted thereby, and I wyll helpe to mitigate your wounded conscience, by the sweet and blessed promises of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christe." Following the image, Zelauto rehearses an abbreviated version of the Biblical narrative, taking on the role of a prophet. Thus Zelauto replaces John in the role of the prophet, receiving the truth from God.

Munday foresaw that many readers might believe that this book was motivated only by money, for "The Printer (you will say) hath printed it full of Pictures, to make it bought the better." However, he countered this view by claiming that there was something "more meritorious" about the text, which caused him to write it and should encourage the reader to "buy it the sooner."⁷³ Certainly, John's revelation, being the best-known example of this sort of genre, was the perfect symbol to sell the book. The image's importance lay in the nature of divine visions and the purpose of representing them. The soul of the visionary was separated from the senses to ensure that human nature would not interfere with what was seen. Such intimate and glorious experiences were reserved only for the most Christ-like of people. Visions appeared through an uncorrupted communication of the soul to people of esteemed character who could be trusted. Unlike charlatans and pseudo-messiahs like William Hacket, true prophets were believed to be the "most fit for them, such as be most holy men for life,

⁷² While the *Guide to English Illustrated Books* has referenced Munday's work as the first to use the image, it is more likely that Charlewood had the woodcut created for Twynne's text, which draws on the book of Revelation much more directly. Also see TRCS, II. 359.

⁷³ Anthony Munday, *The fontaine of fame* (London, 1580), sig. I1r; "The author to the curteous reader," in *The fontaine of fame*, sig. H1r.

indued with exceeding gifts of God, as knowledge, wisdom, constancy, zeale, piety, and religion.”⁷⁴ A person did not need to be a Biblical prophet, but he or she did need to have a strong faith, and there are several examples of early modern godly individuals, particularly women, who seem to have met this standard. Katherine Stubbes’s vision is an example of how the visual and literary texts of divine visions informed and shaped pious experiences. Her husband, the puritan pamphleteer Philip Stubbes, wrote that she was rarely “without a bible,” constantly engaged him in intellectual discussion about faith, and often “seemed to be as it were, ravished with the same spirit that *David* was, when he said: The zeale of thy house hath eaten me vp.”⁷⁵

Those readers who daily and rigorously searched the scriptures could find such experiences to be the actualization of the truth described in image and literary text.⁷⁶ During her meditations late one night, the pious Lady Grace Mildmay recalled one such vision:

there was the figure of the face of a man exulted and lifted up. Whereupon I settled the eye of my mind most fixedly, beholding well the countenance of that face which was so dolorous and so sorrowful as no heart can imagine. His hair black and his face as it were scorched ... And in the very same instant of my beholding that face my heart was stirred up to apprehend with a deep impression, the sorrows of Christ’s death, hanging upon the cross, sweating water and blood in the garden, his stripes, buffets and spittings in his face, with a meditation thereupon.⁷⁷

This meditation echoes the experiences of late-medieval mystical devotions towards the passion of Christ. Perhaps due to her Calvinist upbringing, Mildmay never said that this image was of Christ, only that it “stirred” her to think about such things. She was not dismayed by the fact that none of her “watchers ... saw anything,” and she remained confident in the meaning of the vision as a representation of the passion.⁷⁸ Such visions were the result of the Calvinist trend of “forcing faith inward, into the

⁷⁴ Perkins, *The works ... the third and last volume*, 234.

⁷⁵ Phillip Stubbes, *A christal glasse for christian women containing, a most excellent discourse, of the godly life and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubbs* (London, 1592), sig. Aiv.

⁷⁶ For visions, particularly among women, see Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

⁷⁷ Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552–1620* (London: Collins and Brown, 1993), 87–88.

⁷⁸ Pollock, *With Faith and Physic*, 88.

deepest recesses of the human spirit,” and by so doing, “religion was creating a space for the mind to operate—to picture a new world.”⁷⁹

Images were not necessarily re-enactments but rather ways of understanding the visions they depicted. They were mental projections of the texts. In line with Mildmay’s care not to claim that she had seen Christ, the images did not maintain a sense of actually representing the divine visions. However, in this, the images created something of a paradox, for that which was not seen by the carnal eye of the prophets was displayed for the reader to see. What is invisible to people in the picture was visible to the reader. Rather than relying upon the descriptive qualities of the literary text to communicate the vision, the image was employed to imprint on the reader’s own mental eye a representation of the intended message. This is true even if the visionary is not depicted in the scene. However, without the figure of the prophet in the image, such visualizations become a direct portrayal of the vision itself, which could easily convey a sense of immediacy and intimacy to the early modern reader. Whether or not such intimate imagery was intended is beside the point. It is much more important for understandings of religious identity to accommodate the fact that images of God sitting in heaven survived the Reformation. Visions may have been exceptions to the theological rule against images of God, but they were a formidable exception.

God at Creation

A final popular theme that demonstrates the sustained importance of images of God in Reformation visual culture is the depiction of Creation. The Creation and the Fall were staples of early modern visual culture. The seven days of Creation played a devotional role in late-fifteenth-century books of hours, and the Creation was a key part of religious cycle plays and Tudor dramas.⁸⁰ Not only was Creation the beginning of human history,

⁷⁹ William Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 113. This was particularly true in early New England: David Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 86–88.

⁸⁰ Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 354–76; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 227.

it was quickly followed by the Fall and the introduction of sin into the world.⁸¹

Both Creation and the Fall proved important in Protestant visual culture. The image of God at Creation was also popular outside Bibles and New Testaments. The divine Henry Bull summarized the meaning of such images in his prayer book: "O God my creator, preserver and everlasting defender, where first in my creation I was made like unto thine owne likeness, the divell (alas) hath since by Adams fal made me ougly, monstrous, and like evill favoured to him selfe."⁸² Likewise, William Fulke compared Adam to a son of God, saying, "for although man by his first creation was the most excellent of all creatures in the world, and indeed the sonne of God, yet by his fall and transgression, hee is become the basest and the vilest and no better then a dogge."⁸³ Such descriptions reminded the reader of humanity's glorious beginning. The anthropomorphic image of God underlines the special nature of the scene, a world without sin, where the human eye was not yet tempted by idolatry. John Woolton expounded, "Before the fall of our Parentes ... this light of wisdom, and intelligence of things divine and humane, did shyne brightly in man ... a plentiful storehouse and flowing fountaine of all virtue."⁸⁴ Idolatry came to epitomize the Protestant view of human depravity, and representations of a visual God before the Fall reminded readers of how much had been lost.

For Protestants, it was this light of the mind, as described by Woolton, that salvation would restore. With few exceptions, images of Creation appeared either at the beginning or end of works. The placement reinforced both the importance of the scene and its place in history, as a representation of the devastation of sin at the beginning of Creation or as an image of the promised restoration. One example is found in Richard Grafton's *A chronicle at large* (c. 1569)⁸⁵ (plate 33). Grafton's chronicle

⁸¹ See e.g., Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art of Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 35–36. Creation was a popular scene in wall paintings of the period: F.W. Reader, "Tudor Domestic Wall-Paintings," *Archaeological Journal* 92 (1936): 243–86, and "Tudor Domestic Wall-Paintings, 2," *Archaeological Journal* 93 (1937 for 1936): 220–62.

⁸² Henry Bull, *Christian praier and holie meditations as wel for private as publique exercise* (London, 1578), 105.

⁸³ William Fulke, *A comfortable sermon of faith, in temptations and afflictions Preached at S. Botolphes wythout Aldersgate in London, the .xv. of Februarye. 1573* (London, 1574), sig. F4r.

⁸⁴ John Woolton, *A newe anatomie of vvhole man aswell of his body, as of his soule* (London, 1576), sig. Aiv.

⁸⁵ Richard Grafton, *A chronicle at large* (London, 1569), sig. Civ; Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.409–10.



Plate 33. Creation of Adam, in Richard Grafton, *A chronicle at large* (London: H. Denham f. R. Tottel and H. Toye, 1569), sig. A1r. [By permission of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford]

employed several images from Virgil Solis's collection, which had been used the previous year for the Bishops Bible. However, either Grafton or his printer Henry Denham chose to print an anthropomorphic God at Creation, a woodcut that appears to have been German in origin, rather than one with the more reformed image of the Tetragrammaton, which was used in the Bible. The image was much more complex and aesthetic than most woodcuts printed in England, and almost certainly was imported from abroad. It presents a robed God the Father speaking life ("fiat") into Adam, and in the background God creates Eve from Adam's side.

In another example, the stationer John Tysdale (or Tisdale) recycled an image of Creation in the *Preceptes of Cato* (c. 1560), with annotations by Desiderius Erasmus, in a tiny sextodecimo. Tysdale was closely connected with the prolific stationer John Charlewood, particularly during the reign of Queen Mary, and he seems to have ceased all printing after 1563.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Dionysius Cato, *Preceptes of Cato, with annotacins of Desiderius Erasmus* (London, 1560), sig. 2G8r; STC, III.169.

The philosopher Cato was popular in Latin schools as a source of morality and proverbial wisdom that found a home more readily in humanist writings than in devotional texts. Yet at the end of this edition there appears a single full-page image of the creation of Eve. Eve's head appears from Adam's rib, so that Eve is depicted as quite literally created from, or out of, the bone.⁸⁷ The text of the *Preceptes* opens with the statement that "God is spyryte," even though the image depicts God as a man. Erasmus follows this precept, explaining that because of this the "christen manne" must "washe thou thy mynde" so to "declare that thys spyrytuall worshyppe is to hym moste acceptable."⁸⁸ The subtle implication is that the literary text provides the tools for such a cleansing. Thus, after the reader's mind has been cleansed by the text, at the end the reader can approach the image of God properly.

One of the last images of God the Father to first appear in Elizabethan England was the picture of Creation that appeared in the illuminated letter "I" at the beginning of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (c. 1577) (plate 34). Printed by Henry Bynneman for a consortium of publishers, the *Chronicles* contained 211 woodcuts illustrating the histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland.⁸⁹ While much has been said about the text and the images, the first image has often been overlooked as it is both text and image. The giant letter "I" which begins the preface to the first volume is decorated with Adam and Eve together, as God sits on clouds. Whether Holinshed knew of the image is uncertain, but it is ironic that it appears on the same page he described the work as being "without any Rhethorically shewe of Eloquence, having rather a regarde for simple truth, than to decking wordes."⁹⁰ The image appears again in the same tome at the beginning of part two, the history of Scotland, and again for the third and final volume of the *Chronicles* (c. 1586), printed by Henry Denham.

⁸⁷ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.274.

⁸⁸ Cato, *Preceptes*, sig. E8r.

⁸⁹ Raphael Holinshed, *The firste volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London, 1577), 4r. One of the few studies of the image is Sarah Kelen, "It Is Dangerous (Gentle Reader)': Censorship, Holinshed's Chronicle and the Politics of Control," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996): 705–20 (708). For a good study of Holinshed's imagery see James Knapp, *Illustrating the Past in Early Modern England: The Representation of History in Printed Books* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 162–206.

⁹⁰ Holinshed, "The Preface to the Reader," *The first volume of the chronicles*, 4r. Interestingly, an early seventeenth-century English cushion cover was richly embroidered with a picture of Creation with an anthropomorphized figure of God; it can be found at the Victoria and Albert Museum, no. T.115–1928.



Plate 34. Creation, in Raphael Holinshed, *The firste volume of the chronicles of England...* (London: Henry Bynneman f. John Harison, 1577), sig. 4*r. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

Sarah Kelen has read this image as a secular allusion to the censorship mechanisms in England. She writes of a “coextensive relationship of control and danger that concerns the preface,” for where Adam and Eve were commanded to obey God or perish, so the *Chronicles* were required to conform to Elizabethan commandments or be censored.⁹¹ There is, however, nothing of temptation or God’s judgment implicit in the image to support such an interpretation. The image represents the united fellowship of God and humanity in the pre-Fall world, telling of either the

⁹¹ Kelen, “‘It Is Dangerous (Gentle Reader),’” 708.

beginning of the world or the world that was lost due to the Fall. Finally, what is most interesting about these images of Creation is their context. They were printed in books of history, philosophy, and science. The intent was not devotional but didactic. It is this educational, expository justification that reappears in the Protestant use of images of God, whether in Biblical/devotional contexts or elsewhere. Such depictions were meant to offer clarity and understanding, not focal points for prayer and worship.

Conclusion

In order to fully understand the importance of these images of God, we must move beyond denunciations of such images in Protestant dogma. The simple fact is that God continued to be portrayed anthropomorphically, albeit in diminishing numbers and in less devotional contexts. While most images of God as a man that appeared in Reformation England were created before 1560, they continued to be printed throughout the period, without any sustained public or ecclesiastical outcry. This chapter has identified several key areas of religious identity where people could still glimpse the traditional figure of God, particularly in certain parts of scripture. The images discussed above also demonstrate how reformers were willing to adapt and appropriate medieval works into their own repertoire, even if these traditions were in tension with the reformed agenda.

The continued use of such images well into the late-Tudor period undermines the idea of rigid Protestant (or puritan) iconophobia and is indicative of the subtle continuities of even Calvinist works with the past. Although the image of God as an old man was berated from the pulpit, it continued to carry significant currency across a wide spectrum of English print. Part of the reason for this continuity can certainly be attributed to the limitations of the printing trade and its reliance upon older materials. However, mechanistic and materialistic explanations will only justify so much. It was never absolutely necessary for reformers to use traditional images of God. In fact, the conscious effort on the part of English Protestants to include anthropomorphic images of God is perhaps the most striking aspect of this chapter. From the recycling of the depiction of the Trinity in Woolton's *The immortalitie of the soule* to the illustration containing Ezekiel's vision in the Geneva Bible, reformers were intent upon using certain images of God. For, as we shall see in the next chapter, other options were widely available.

CHAPTER SIX

REFORMING DEITY: SYMBOLIC PICTURES OF GOD

The end of the Tudor period was a turning point for religious identity, as the Elizabethan compromise was increasingly strained by growing divisions. Among the many issues that served as flashpoints was the interest in possession and exorcism. Conformist preachers regularly rebuffed claims that certain men were experts in this kind of spiritual warfare. The charlatan John Darrell was challenged by John Deacon and John Walker, who decried the elevation of Jesus' name above the Tetragrammaton in exorcism ceremonies. In *Dialogicall discourses of spirits and divels* (c. 1601), they wrote,

for that also, by an execrable and blasphemous prophaning of that sacred and *unexpresable name of the Lord, tetragrammaton*: they verie pestilently pretended *the powerfull establishment of their pestilent practises*. Yea, and which more is, so soone as the holy name of our Saviour Christ began to be *admirably and powerfully published abroad*: they eftsoones also, abused that *glorious name*, in every of their said *exorcismes, adjurations, or conjuring attempts*. Imagining the honorable name of *Jesus*, to be much more powerfull for that speciall purpose: then the name *tetragrammaton* was ever before.¹

Not only did Deacon and Walker condemn the abuse of the names of God, but they also assumed that there was some sacred significance to these names, which should not be misused. Although symbolic representations of God like the Tetragrammaton were not unique to the Reformation, Protestants found these symbols to be very useful not only as representations but also as functional, and even powerful, emblems of divine authority.

¹ John Deacon and John Walker, *Dialogicall discourses of spirits and divels declaring their proper essence, natures, dispositions, and operations, their possessions and dispossessions* (London, 1601), 238. For more on this text see Thomas Freeman, "Demons, Deviance, and Defiance: John Darrell and the Politics of Exorcism in Late Elizabethan England," in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, 1560–1660*, ed. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 34–63. For a succinct summary of the disputes between Darrell, Deacon, and Walker see Marion Gibson, *Possession, Puritanism and Print: Darrell, Harsnett, Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Exorcism Controversy* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006), 145–50.

The popularity of these symbols in Protestant visual culture has often been attributed to iconophobia, as a facet of the expurgation of traditional religion.² While such representations certainly do throw light on this movement, we must not overlook the fact that these symbols of God acted as more than simplified, totemic pictures. God's name was essential in both elite and popular culture in the Tudor period. The abuse of the name, to speak it in vain, was condemned as blasphemy in the Decalogue. Early modern books usually gave God's name prominence by capitalizing all of the letters in the word. Also, the name of God marked and sanctified the most important events. It was integral in the validation of official documents and in court proceedings, marriages, prayers, sermons, and funerals.³ God's name needed to appear in script, print, or speech as an indication that such acts had received divine approval.

This chapter argues for a greater understanding of the nuances and significance of the employment of such representations in developing religious identity. As Margaret Aston has recently commented, "the tetragrammaton was an iconographic innovation that signaled a new relationship with the divinity of God the Father."⁴ The Tetragrammaton and other divine symbols provide the most apparent examples of a systematic reformulation of religious iconography during the Reformation. These images served as portrayals of divine providence—one of the most important themes in Protestant print—as well as a means to stifle idolatry and replace traditional symbols like the I.H.S and the Eucharist.⁵

Continuity and Change

The symbolic images of God have a more evocative meaning and purpose in Reformation texts than is often perceived, specifically as a Protestant

² Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 161; Alexandra Walsham, "Angels and Idols in England's Long Reformation," in *Angels in the Early Modern World*, eds. Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 143. Margaret Aston has recently begun a trend away from this oversimplification: "Symbols of Conversion: Proprieties of the Page in Reformation England," in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 23–42.

³ Christopher Marsh, "In the Name of God?: Will-making and Faith in Early Modern England," in *The Records of the Nation: The Public Record Office, 1838–1988; The British Record Society, 1880–1988*, eds. Geoffrey Howard Martin and Peter Spufford (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), 215–50.

⁴ Aston, "Symbols of Conversion," 24.

⁵ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

representation of the nature of God. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, depictions of God relied almost entirely upon the Biblical symbols of divine presence. Images like the pillar of cloud, the dove, and the Tetragrammaton were used extensively in Bible illustrations and non-Biblical works from the 1540s onward.⁶ These symbols are most widely known for their presence on titlepages in Protestant Bibles, particularly after Elizabeth's reign. A Geneva Bible of 1616 contains a typical monumental titlepage that is characteristic of the symbolic deity represented in such images (plate 35). The Tetragrammaton is glimpsed through a shroud of clouds, which is often understood as a symbol of God's absolute transcendence. Such frontispieces became almost a commonplace of Protestant print culture.

Perhaps because of the mass production of these symbols, which was above and beyond that of most other figures in English print, divine symbols have been overlooked. The glut of what must have been seen as innocuous or static images has bred a scholarly disinterest. Moreover, the different divine symbols of the dove, the Tetragrammaton, and the hand of God were often interchangeable, but at the same time, they could also be depicted together so as to distinguish the different persons of God, as in the frontispiece of the late-Tudor and early Stuart Bishops Bible. Here, the Trinity is represented by the Tetragrammaton, the lamb, and the dove (from high to low), in an elaborate frontispiece that draws on the iconography of the gospel writers and the twelve tribes of Israel.

Even though these divine symbols are often seen as having had a free pass in Protestant culture, it is important to realize that several reformers were uncertain about any visual representation of God. There was a certain continuity from Catholic practice in the Protestant use of these symbols, as in the case of the I.H.S, which made many people in the Reformation uneasy. The name of God and the Holy Spirit as a dove were not completely absent from traditional religion, even though the anthropomorphized God was much more popular. The Dutch Catholic Christian van Adrichem wrote of the Tetragrammaton, "theron ingrauen ... the

⁶ Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (London: Yale University Press, 1997), 26, 112, 117, 163, 222–23. For a discussion of these symbols see Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, 90–93, 253; Alexandra Walsham, "‘The Fatall Vesper’: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London," *Past & Present* 144 (1994): 36–87; Marie-Helene Davies, *Reflections of Renaissance England: Life, Thought & Religion Mirrored in Illustrated Pamphlets, 1535–1640*, (Princeton Theological Monograph Series 1; Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1986), 195–98.

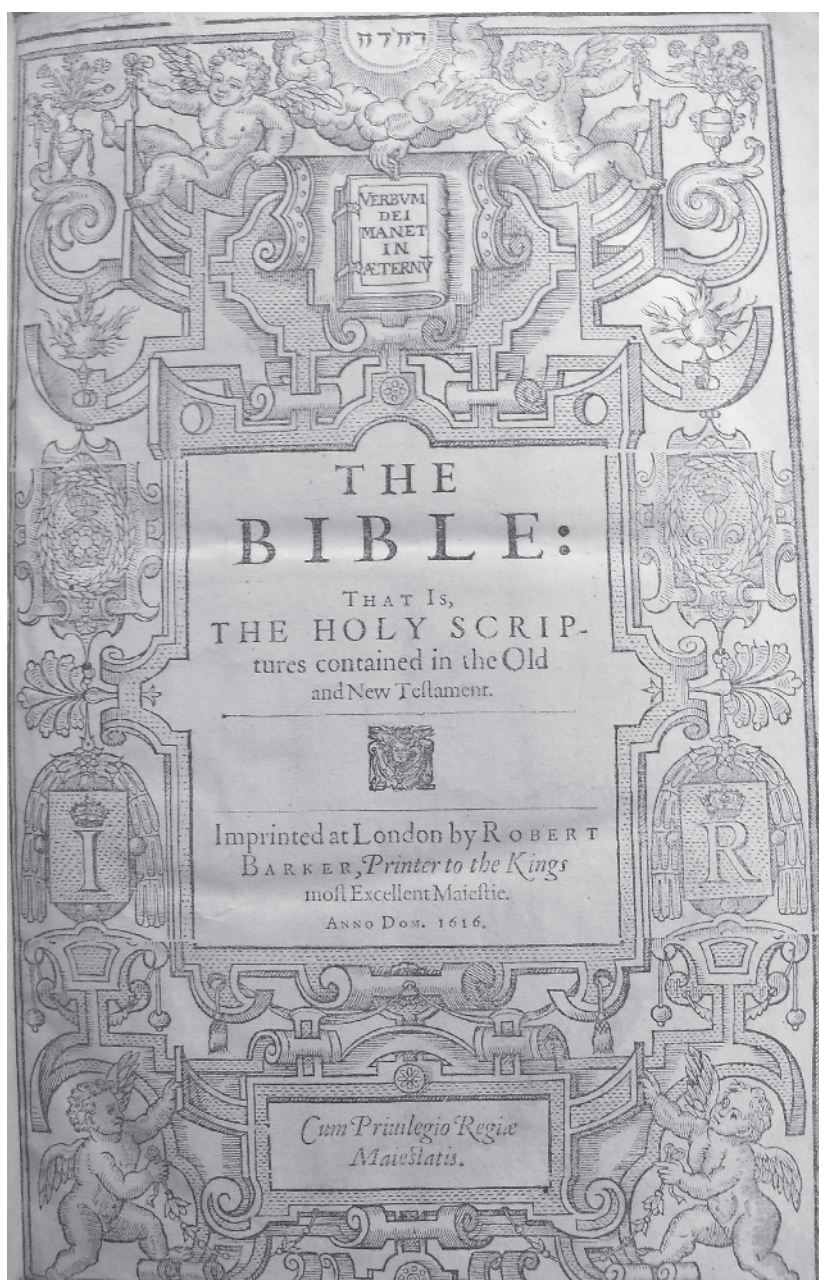


Plate 35. Titlepage, in *The Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures* (Geneva Bible) (London: Richard Barker, 1616), titlepage. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

wonderfull brightnesse thereof the excellencie of the diuine maiestie.”⁷ An English edition of the late-medieval *Stultifera navis*, *The Ship of Fools*, was printed by Richard Pynson in 1509, providing a good example of the pre-Reformation use of divine symbols.⁸ Two of the book’s woodcuts symbolized the providence of God in the form of God’s hand, or the *Dextera Domini*, which was among the oldest ways of representing the Father. The hand of God was common in images of the Annunciation of Mary and the Baptism of Christ as late as the fifteenth century, and therefore was not automatically useful for reformers.⁹

What is more, as the quote from *Dialogicall discourses* indicates, the Tetragrammaton, along with other Biblical names, symbols, and figures, was adopted by the magical subculture of the early modern world. This process is understandable given both the Tetragrammaton’s associations with the hermetic and Hebrew cabala tradition and the general interest in all things Judaic in early modern England.¹⁰ In 1615, John Stephens gave an extensive narrative description of what was commonly believed about a witch, or “the Diuels Hostess,” in which he explained, “her highest adorations be Yew-trees, dampish Church-yards, & a faire *Moonelight*: her best preseruaties be odde numbers, and mightie *Tetragrammaton*: these provocatues to her lust with Diuels, breedes her contempt of Man.”¹¹ In his *The discovery of witchcraft* (c. 1584), the sceptical Reginald Scot suggested that people believed that the Tetragrammaton, along with other symbols, had the power to resurrect the ancient prophetess Sybil. It was integral to the traditional ceremony for calling the spirit of a dead man or woman:

about eleven a clocke in the night, goe to the place where he was buried ... thy fellow having a candle in his left hand, and in his right hand a crystall stone, and say these words following, the master having a hazell wand in his right hand, and these names of God written thereupon, *Tetragrammaton* † *Adonay* † *Agla* † *Craton* † Then strike three strokes on the ground, and say;

⁷ Christian van Adrichem, *A briefe description of Hierusalem and of the suburbs therof* (London, 1595), 45.

⁸ Sebastian Brant, *Stultifera nauis. The ship of fooles* (Pynson, 1509). Both works derived from the German work *Narrenschiff*, printed in Basel in 1494. Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.251–57.

⁹ Heather Child and Dorothy Colles, *Christian Symbols, Ancient and Modern: A Handbook for Students* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1971), 49.

¹⁰ Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1999), 269; idem, *Occult Philosophy in Elizabethan England* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 102–13.

¹¹ John Stephens, *Satyrical essayes characters and others* (London, 1615), 314.

Arise N. Arise N. Arise N. I conjure thee spirit N. by the resurrection of our Lord Jesu Christ.¹²

Because of these connections with both the idolatrous Catholic church and the blasphemies of witchcraft and magic, divine symbols possessed complicated cultural baggage.

Not every reformer embraced depicting God in words. Calvin stated, “we must hold it as a first principle, that as often as any form is assigned to God, his glory is corrupted by an impious lie.”¹³ Much later, William Perkins refuted the idea that the Bible assigned visual representations to God simply because it often used language that described God having body parts. He commented, “the commandement of God doth generally forbid al images, not excepting the very shapes in which God himselfe hath heretofore testified his presence ... it is a falsehood for us to think that we may lawefully doe whatsoever God doeth.”¹⁴ Calvin had even made the point that symbols of God in the Bible were true symbols but were intended as momentary representations that should not be reproduced without divine sanction: “The Holy Spirit appeared under the form of a dove, but as it instantly vanished, who does not see that in this symbol of a moment, the faithful were admonished to regard the Spirit as invisible, to be contented with his power and grace, and not call for any external figure?”

Even so, the reformer felt it necessary to explain the reasoning behind God’s sanctioning of temporary images of himself. Certain images, particularly those used by God to symbolize his presence, stifled idolatry by signifying how unknowable God was. Calvin explained,

all the signs he [God] ever employed were in apt accordance with the scheme of doctrine, and, at the same time, gave plain intimation of his incomprehensible essence. For the cloud, and smoke, and flame, though they were symbols of heavenly glory, curbed men’s minds as with a bridle, that they might not attempt to penetrate further.¹⁵

¹² Reginald Scot, *Scot’s Discovery of vvitchcraft proving the common opinions of witches contracting with divels, spirits, or familiars ... to be but imaginary, erroneous conceptions and novelties* (London, 1651), 285.

¹³ John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 91.

¹⁴ William Perkins, *A warning against the idolatrie of the last times* (London, 1601), 16. By Perkins’s time, Catholic polemicists made a regular point of asking, if God was comfortable using anthropomorphic and natural symbols to represent God in scripture, why was it considered idolatry to follow suit: Folger Shakespeare Library MS V.a.243, “Controversii et compendium Becari.”

¹⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, 92.

Likewise, in his Edwardian catechism, Thomas Cranmer explained that the divine forms in the Bible actually declared “that no man can come to the parfite knowledge of God, as he is in him selfe.” By depictions of such symbols, the reader was not led to idolatry but rather in the opposite direction, to the realization that “no similitude nor ymage, can be made of him.”¹⁶ In a certain way, these images were intended to be anti-iconic, to undermine not only the traditional imagery of God as a man but also the natural compulsion to mentally picture God by signifying him with symbols from the Word. Studying Luther’s understanding of God as the *Deus absconditus*, Joseph Koerner has described something similar to this anti-image in his analysis of early Lutheran prints, saying, “Protestant visual polemics begins with a resounding ‘no’.”¹⁷ The hidden God, invisible to the human eye, could only be seen through faith with the assistance of the Word of God. In other words, part of the iconoclastic compulsion of the Reformation entailed creating images that were intended to halt the traditional sacred gaze, freezing a person’s vision upon the symbolic alone and directing their faith towards the Word. These symbols of God, given by God’s Word, were intended to halt vain imaginations about God’s appearance. Rather than being an invitation to worship, such symbols acted as a warning against creating an idol in one’s mind.

There is evidence of this warning against idolatry in many images in which divine symbols were employed, not as a centrepiece but as an intricate and, at times, miniscule detail. The Tetragrammaton, the dove, and the lamb became small, but iconic, elements in late-Tudor and early Stuart Biblical titlepages. Most of the early Elizabethan Bibles, including the Rouen Bible and the Elizabethan Great Bibles, chose the name of God for the frontispiece. The Rouen Bible’s frontispiece depicted Queen Elizabeth enthroned surrounded by cherubim, with the figures of Moses on her right and Christ on her upper left, representing the Law and the fulfilment of the Law.¹⁸ Above the image is the name of God, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English, shining in glory with the scroll “heare are the lawes which thou shalt set before them” and “This is my deare son in whom I delite

¹⁶ Thomas Cranmer, *Catechismus, that is to say, a shorte instruction into Christian religion for the synguler commoditie and profyte of childe[n] and yong people* (London, 1548), sig. C7v.

¹⁷ Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2004), 40–41, 209–11 (119).

¹⁸ Richard Carmarden, *The Byble in Englyshe* (Rouen, 1566), frontispiece. The scroll above Christ reads, “come unto me al ye that labor and are laden and I wil ease you” and next to Moses, “These are the ordenances and lawes whiche ye shall observe and doe.”

heare him." The image demonstrates the proper hierarchy of authority, as the presence of God dictates via the Word of God, the Mosaic law, and the Gospels the authority and supremacy of the monarch. The use of words within an image was a common practice in printed pictures and here refers back to the nature of the Tetragrammaton as word-image. Another example of this sort of image can be found in John Kingston's Latin edition of Peter Vermigli's *Loci communes*. On the frontispiece appeared the image of the burning bush from Exodus, with the Tetragrammaton inside the flames.¹⁹ The Tetragrammaton was permanently impressed upon readers' minds when the King James Version employed it, first in 1611. The dove, usually used as an image of the Holy Spirit, is the most interesting example here. The dove appeared in the most innocuous places, so frequently that it almost always is overlooked in even the most thorough of illustration catalogues.²⁰ It could be seen in dozens of frontispieces atop the Stationers' Company coat of arms, as if to demonstrate a divine anointing on both the company and the books that had been licensed.²¹ The glut of these symbols is significant, as are the sanitizing or anesthetizing effects the symbols may have had upon readers. As also for most modern emblems or logos, it is doubtful that each divine symbol was consciously registered in a reader's mind. Their frequent recurrence, often in obscure corners of the picture, could easily have blinded the average reader. Yet at the same time, although readers may not have always been conscious of the divine symbol, its presence became a mainstay of Protestant culture as it was naturalized into the visual discourse.

By moving away from the image of God as an old man on a throne, the prints were altering traditional perceptions, affecting how people mentally imagined the divine. Understanding the various ways the permissible figures of God were portrayed will provide particular insight into these fluctuating mentalities. While it would be simple to write off this shift as merely a step towards the complete annihilation of religious images in

¹⁹ Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485–1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1913), plate 197. It should be noted that this image is not found in Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books, 1536–1603*, vol. I (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998).

²⁰ One example of this is the dove, above the holy family of Joseph, Mary, and Jesus, in the illustrated letter 'S' mid-way through John Hooper's *An ouersight and deliberacion vppon the holy prophet Ionas* (1560). This image of the dove is so tiny that it has never been mentioned in any catalogue.

²¹ McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland*, plates 77, 115, 118, 119, 121, 125, 143, 144, 152, 160, 163, 170, 171, 173, 204, 205, 216, 218. This is by no means an exhaustive list. McKerrow's catalogue is extensive but not comprehensive.

England, the ways in which God was depicted tell a more complex story. The name, and other symbols, of God took on a meaning beyond their anti-idolatry. The poet and divine Thomas Rogers noted its importance,

That name which *Salomon* vppon his breast,
In his diuine Pentaculum did weare,
With great *Iehouah* Characters imprest,
That name I loue I reuerence and feare:
That name which *Aron* wore vpon his head,
Grau'd in his holy *Miter* made of Golde,
That name which Angels laude and furies dreade.²²

As in any religion, in Protestantism identity hinged upon the conception of God and on how humanity was supposed to relate to the divine being. What follows is an attempt to distinguish between two major categories of Protestant symbols of the divine, the providential and the devotional. As we shall see even in this basic analysis, boundaries were crossed and specific symbols that appear to fall into one category could be transferred easily to another.

A Reformed Icon?: Symbols of God

Although the Tetragrammaton was a sixteenth-century invention, the four Hebrew letters representing God's name were rooted in the traditional concept of the *Nomen Sacrum*, or the name of God. As Peter and Linda Murray have explained, the *Nomen Sacrum* was originally a Hebrew tradition whereby alternatives were used (i.e. *adonai*) to avoid speaking or writing the name of God. In adopting this tradition, early modern Christians transformed the name of God, YHWH, into "a meaningless word."²³ Many reformers agreed with Heinrich Bullinger that the "first and chiefeſt way to know God is derived out of the very names of God ... the moſt excellent which they call the Tetragrammaton." In this representation of God people were reminded of the main description of God by God, "I am that I am."²⁴

²² Thomas Rogers, *Celestiall elegies of the goddesses and the Muses* (London, 1598), sig. C6v.

²³ Peter and Linda Murray, *A Dictionary of Christian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 389.

²⁴ Heinrich Bullinger, "Of God; of the true knowledge of God, and of the diuerſe ways how to know Him; that God is one in ſubſtance, and three in perſons," *Sermon III, The Decades of Heinrich Bullinger*, vol. IV, trans. H.I. ed. Thomas Harding (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1852), 130.

Because the Tetragrammaton has received such little historical consideration, often overlooked as a poor replacement for divine icons, the extent and nature of its use in printed images or Protestant culture are not entirely clear. In 1575, William Patten's Biblical dictionary *The calender of Scripture* demonstrated an awareness that Old Testament Jews used the Tetragrammaton "In steed of the Lords proper name."²⁵ Similarly, Protestants were aware that early modern Jewish communities were equally adverse to uttering or writing the name of God, Jehovah. While Protestants believed the Jewish aversion to be superstitious nonsense, they retained the Tetragrammaton in their iconography. By the end of the sixteenth century, these four letters, contrived from a mistranslated word, had come to symbolize, more than any other form, the presence of God for Tudor England. Moreover, the Tetragrammaton effectively communicated the absolute and ultimate nature of God and staunchly refused any human devised form; this was, in Bullinger's words, "God in whom nothing is lacking."²⁶ It was by capturing the otherness and absoluteness of God that divine symbols, specifically the Tetragrammaton, became a kind of Protestant icon.

The well-known story of the changes made to Virgil Solis's woodcuts for the Bishops Bible in order to replace the anthropomorphic figures of God with the Tetragrammaton is only one example of many in which symbols of God came to overshadow God portrayed as a man. The earliest English Bibles contained the Tetragrammaton as well as traditional anthropomorphic images of God. The Tetragrammaton appears, for example, on the first titlepage of the Coverdale Bible. By the Elizabethan period, the form was so prolific that the image of the gospel writer Mark was adjusted in the Bishops Bible to include the Tetragrammaton, replacing the traditional figure of the Holy Spirit as a dove that had appeared in 1539²⁷ (plate 36). This suggests that while images of divine revelation continued to visualize God as a man, as early as the 1530s there was a desire to use the Tetragrammaton alongside, if not instead of, anthropomorphic images.

²⁵ William Patten, *The calender of Scripture* (London, 1575), sig. C3r. John Strype explained, "the venerable word JEHOVAH was thought more aptly to be translated God, than Lord; for that it might savour of the Jewish superstition who were persuaded that this word JEHOVAH was not to be spoken or written": John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion ... in the Church of England During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign*, 4 vols. in 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), II, 78.

²⁶ Bullinger, "Of God," 134.

²⁷ To begin researching the Tetragrammaton in Reformation print, see the catalogue of works in Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, II, 175. Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I, 85–86, 136.



Plate 36. Mark, in *The holie bible* (Bishops Bible, 1572), C3r. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

Particularly when illustrating the revelations of the New Testament, the 1537 Coverdale Bible employed the *Nomen Sacrum* rather than more traditional figures. The image of John on Patmos with the Tetragrammaton was recycled in numerous Bible editions until 1569, as well as published in versions of Elizabethan statutes²⁸ (plate 37).

Such examples indicate that at least in the first few decades of the English Reformation, there was no either/or paradigm for symbolic and anthropomorphic images. Both were used in the same editions of Bibles on a regular basis into Elizabeth's reign. Nevertheless, the growing affinity for divine symbols is evidence of a shift in Protestant iconography that became apparent with the publication of the Geneva Bible (c. 1560). The Geneva Bible opened with a picture of Moses parting the Red Sea and with God, represented as a pillar of cloud, dominating the skyline. The symbolism of the cloud fits nicely with the Protestant conception of God as a being both present and intangible. His works could be seen and appreciated but the essence of whom he was continued to be distant and beyond definition. Three more editions printed in Geneva displayed the cloud, and seven were printed in London before 1603²⁹ (plate 38). Framed by three Old Testament verses, Exodus 2.14 and 14.13 and Psalm 34.19, the scene illustrated the initial stage of the Israelites' journey to the Promised Land and alluded to the escape of the English church from Catholicism and to the reader's own advance in faith. The cloud reminded readers that God would guide them in the construction of a Protestant nation. The Geneva Bible, with its clear translation and easy-to-read notes and illustrations, led the way. The homily "To the reading of Scripture" explained, "These Bookes therefore ought to bee much in our hands, in our eyes, in our eares, in our mouthes, but most of all in our heartes."³⁰ The book attempted to connect with human perception as fully as possible, to saturate it with scripture. The image initiated the eyes into this sensory submersion, and it engaged the eye of the mind by stressing the importance of the scene.

The Protestant idea of God was further subsumed under divine symbols with the introduction of a new scene of Creation into the Geneva Bible.

²⁸ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.91.

²⁹ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.115–18; Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 51–53.

³⁰ Anon., "To the reading of Scripture," in *Certain Sermons or HOMILIES Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547–1571)*, facsimile eds. Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1968), sig. A1v.



Plate 37. John on Patmos, in *The bible* (Matthew Bible, 1537), New Testament, sig. M4v. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]



Plate 38. Crossing of the Red Sea, in *The bible* (Geneva Bible, 1600), titlepage. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

In 1583, Christopher Barker inserted inside the front page of the Bible an intricate and imposing scene of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.³¹ This image was reprinted in quarto and folio Bibles into the early 1600s (plate 39). In the new image, the Tetragrammaton is shrouded in clouds at the top middle of the scene as Adam and Eve stand next to the tree surrounded by animals. Both figures hold an apple, and the serpent is entwined in the tree. The scroll work, or banderols, in this image is extensive. Eve's scroll reads, "By promis made restord we be," and Adam's follows with, "To pleasures of eternity." The scroll in the tree states, "Created Good and faire by breache of lawe and snare." The one at the base of the tree reads, "Desire to know hath wrought our woe / By tastinge this the exile of bliss." Lastly, the serpent's scroll states, "Duste for to eate / must be my

³¹ *The holy byble* (London, 1583), sig. D4v.



Plate 39. Adam and Eve in Paradise, in *The bible* (Geneva Bible, 1602), sig. D4v.
 [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

meate.” That the Tetragrammaton was being used in lieu of the traditional iconography of God is made evident by its appearance between the sun and the moon, where the anthropomorphic God had usually been portrayed. Though this picture of Creation was first printed in the Geneva Bible, it was quickly transferred to the Bishops Bible where it appeared in seven editions. It also was copied for a smaller octavo version of the Geneva Bible by Barker in 1586, an image that was recycled eleven more times.³²

Elsewhere, as early as 1572 the Bishops Bible depicted Adam naming the animals in the garden of Eden with the Tetragrammaton (plate 40). The intricate work of the image displays the entire narrative of the book of Genesis in a border around the central woodcut, and it is careful to depict the Tetragrammaton in the scenes of Cain and Abel (top left),



Plate 40. Adam naming the animals, in *The holie bible* (Bishops Bible, 1572), sig. A1r. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

³² Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.144–45.

Noah's sacrifice (top right), and Jacob's ladder (bottom left).³³ The divine name quickly became the standard for images of Creation. In the 1590s, John Windet produced a woodcut with much less skill for Christopher Sutton's devotional *Disce Mori: Learne to die*. Along with three other images that recalled the medieval custom of the *memento mori*, this image depicted creation as the genesis of death. *Disce Mori* in its tiny duodecimo edition was very popular, being printed two more times in the next two years, and the image of the Fall with the Tetragrammaton appeared again in Sutton's sequel, *Disce vivere: Learn to live* (c. 1602).³⁴

In the 1572 Bishops Bible, the Tetragrammaton replaced traditional images of God almost completely, and the layout of the woodcuts provides a very different envisioning of scripture. Eight composite woodcuts, like plate 40, took the place of the many single woodcuts in the 1568 Old Testament. Most significantly, the Tetragrammaton was used instead of the anthropomorphized God in the composite scene for the visions of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jonah³⁵ (plate 41). This image, which would be reprinted in 1574 and 1578, represents more clearly the shift towards divine symbols as the only acceptable means by which Protestants were to represent God, as even the revelation of God in scripture was symbolized rather than anthropomorphized.³⁶ Furthermore, each of the scenes relates somehow to God's plan for Israel. Providence, as a visual and textual motif, became strongly related to the Tetragrammaton in the apocalyptic annals of judgment books, which abounded in late-medieval and early modern Europe.³⁷

The Tetragrammaton was even identified with the mysterious comet that appeared in the European sky in 1577 (plate 42). In 1578, Thomas East printed for John Walley the Latin quarto pamphlet *Cometographia*, to commemorate the comet.³⁸ This cheap pamphlet was among several

³³ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.134.

³⁴ Christopher Sutton, *Disce mori. Learne to die* (London, 1600), sig. 1v; Christopher Sutton, *Disce vivere. Learne to live* (London, 1602); Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.698–99.

³⁵ *The holie bible* (London, 1572), sig. 3N6v.

³⁶ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I.136.

³⁷ For Walsham's discussion of judgment books see *Providence in Early Modern England*, 65–75. Also, Thomas Freeman, "Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,'" in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, eds. Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003), 27–55; Richard Kyle, "John Knox's Concept of Divine Providence and Its Influence on His Thought," *Albion* 18 (1986): 395–410.

³⁸ Laurence Johnson, *Cometographia quaedam Lampadis aerae que* (London, 1577). An English pamphlet about the same event was printed by John Charlewood: Thomas Twyne, *A viewv of certain wonderful effects, of late Days come to passe and now newly conferred with the presignifications of the comete, or blasing star* (London, 1578). Abraham Fleming believed this event to be the pinnacle of various apocalyptic signs in the sixteenth



Plate 41. Six illustrations of the Prophets, in *The holie bible* (Bishops Bible, 1572), sig. 3K3r. [By permission of the Dunham Bible Museum, Houston Baptist University]

works that Walley and East printed jointly in the 1570s, including the 1570 edition of the *Kalender of Shepherds*. The comet, which appeared on 17 November 1577, was considered by many Protestants to be a sure sign of the end of days. Although Queen Elizabeth was reportedly completely indifferent to this particular comet, there was sustained interest in astrology and in astronomical portents of the end of history.³⁹ The Tetragrammaton assured the devout reader that this was a divine message, as is confirmed by the Hebrew phrase in the comet's tail, which translates as, "I will bring to judgement." The alteration of the divine order in the heavenly spheres could only be orchestrated by the Creator, and such a drastic intervention promised unseen change.

century signalling the second coming of Christ: Friedrich Nausea, *A bright burning beacon forewarning all wise virgins to trim their lampes against the comming of the Bridegroom* (London, 1580).

³⁹ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin Books, 1973), 354; P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, ed., *The Occult in Early Modern Europe: A Documentary History* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1999).

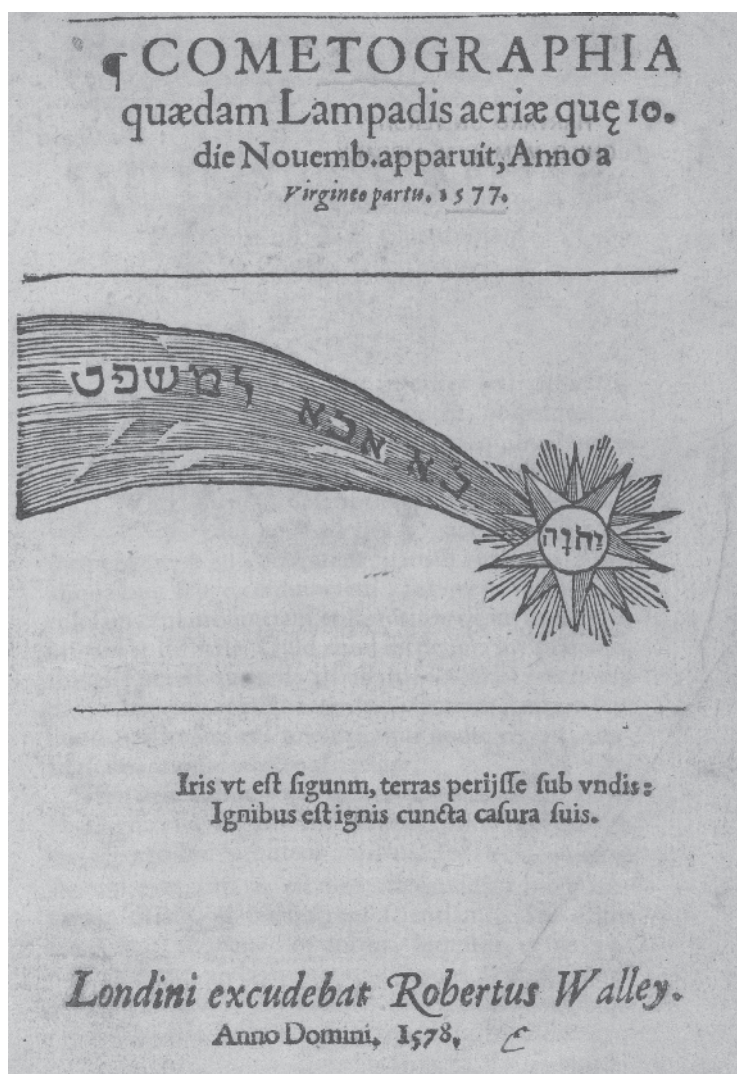


Plate 42. Comet with the Tetragrammaton, in Laurence Johnson, *Cometographia* (London: Thomas East, 1577), titlepage. [By permission of Houghton Library, Harvard University]

It is important to avoid the inclination to oversimplify these images of divine symbols. There were often multiple layers of significance in the image and the interaction between the divine symbol and other figures in the scenes. Because it is usually surrounded by clouds the Tetragrammaton

has been interpreted as something invisible and intangible and therefore of less significance. However, divine symbols were active. They communicated different messages within the context of the images, beyond but not divorced from the unknowable nature of God. The divine nature was the meaning embedded in these symbols, but the printed image was not bound to such dogma. Even polemical works such as Walter Lynne's *The beginning and ending of all poperie*, which was taken from a similar German work by Andreas Osiander, depicted the Tetragrammaton and the dove as divine figures that engaged and compelled humanity.⁴⁰

The frontispiece of the text, which appeared in 1548 and was reprinted by John Charlewood in 1588, depicts the disruption of a Catholic processional as the Pope is knocked to the ground from his donkey by the power of the Holy Spirit (the dove) emanating from the glory of the Tetragrammaton (plate 43). A similar image occurs in the popular anti-Catholic work *Pasional Christi und Antichristi*, by Lucas Cranach, and the image also carried overtones of the prophet Balaam's donkey, who sees the angel of the Lord when Balaam does not, (Numbers 22) and the conversion narrative of the apostle Paul (Acts 9). A popular scene in the Henrician and Edwardian periods, the image of Saul (Paul) falling from his mount with the Tetragrammaton above him reappeared in Christopher Barker's Geneva New Testament (c. 1576).⁴¹ In both the New Testament and Lynne's satire, the Tetragrammaton is shown exerting physical power.

Lynne's text develops this idea of an interactive providential symbol with several smaller woodcuts within the text. In the first image, the dove appears over the Pope's shoulder as he throws money into the mouths of bears, the first disobedience by the papacy. Two images later, God appears again, extending his hand out of a bush to rebuke the Pope. The text explains, "so is here the hande of God, painted in a Bushe overagainst the Pope, sitting upon his knees, threatening and rebuking the Pope, because he doth wholly apply himselfe to the riches and dominion of this world."⁴² Relating this scene to that of the burning bush, the text further connects

⁴⁰ Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, I, 555.

⁴¹ *The newe testament of our lord Jesus Christ* (London, 1576), sig. 2F3r. Another text with the conversion of Paul is the Great Bible New Testament (London, 1569), sig. S5r. However this image depicts the figure of Christ rather than the Tetragrammaton. It is interesting to note that the Tetragrammaton has replaced the figure of Christ, for it is the risen Christ and not God the Father who speaks to Paul in the story.

⁴² Walter Lynne, *The beginning and ending of all poperie* (London: J. Charlewoode, 1588), sig. D3r.

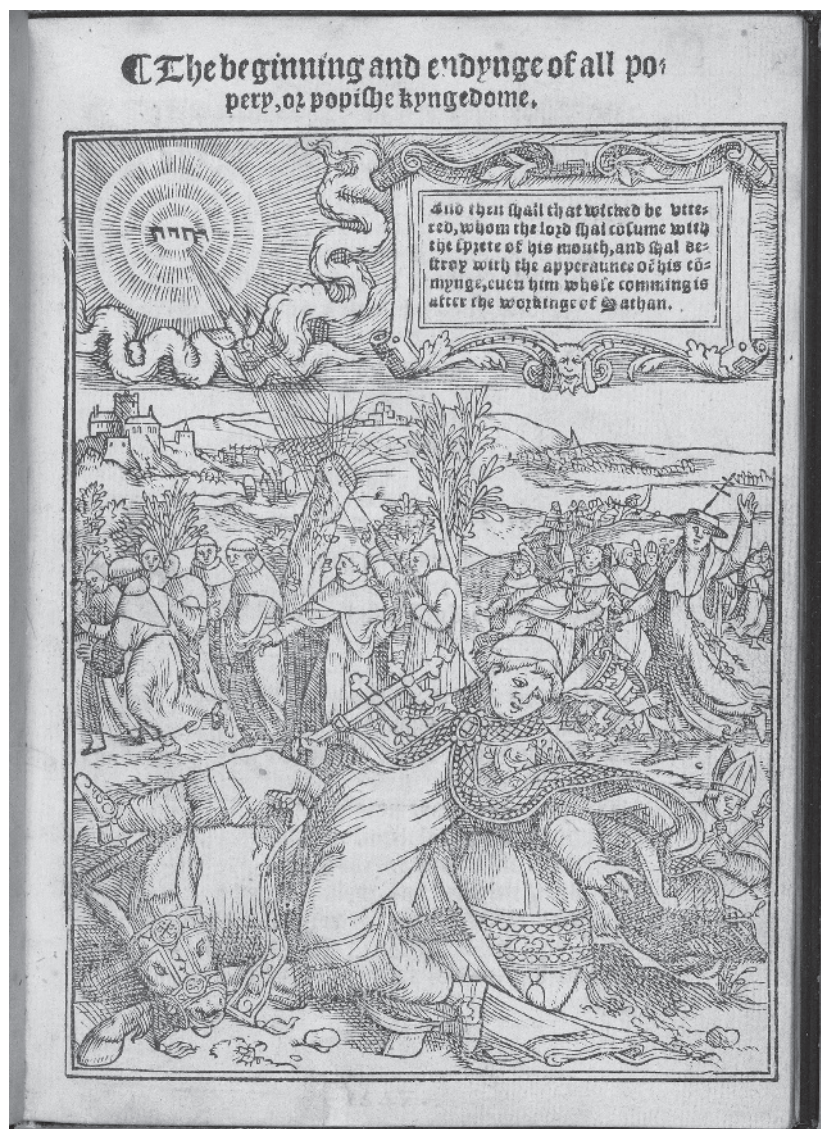


Plate 43. An anti-Catholic satire, in Walter Lynne, *The beginning and ending of all popery* (London: John Charlewoode, 1588), titlepage. [By the permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

the various divine symbols together, so that God's presence could be represented in a variety of forms without having to rely on the idolatrous tradition of portraying God as a man. For while the Pope, unlike Moses and Paul, failed to heed the warnings about God's providence and eventually fell from power, it was necessary for Protestants to visually depict the influence of God in these events. The importance of divine symbols, particularly those displaying God's active providential power, had not diminished by the early Stuart period, for the depiction of the dynamic Tetragrammaton became popular in frontispieces and folio prints.⁴³

The ability of divine symbols to interact with other figures in an image added further depth to the burgeoning Protestant visual culture. The symbols did not make passive the idea of God, even though they did dehumanize God. Divine symbols were abstractions, but they were abstractions that signified a being that could act, react, speak, and create. The most useful symbols for displaying these actions were images of God's body parts. Many reformers only tangentially addressed the Biblical references to God's physical body, even though Catholics adamantly pointed to these verses to justify their own pictures of God. However, one Protestant writer, Roger Hutchinson, took up this task in his posthumously published *The image of God* (c. 1560). Hutchinson was a Cambridge-trained fellow of Eton College who was known for his passionate defence of reform. In *The image of God*, Hutchinson went to great lengths to spiritualize the Biblical passages that describe God having a body, arguing that, "Whersoever scripture doth attribute unto God a head, eares, eyes, eyeliddes, nose, mouth, lips, tongue, heart, wombe, handes, right or left, fingers or a finger, an arm, hinder partes, fete, it is not to be understand litterally, but a spirituall sence is to be gathered of such wordes."⁴⁴ Hutchinson expounded, "Gods tongue is the holy Ghost" and "The face of God is the knowledge of his deuine nature."⁴⁵ Many of the symbolic meanings are mixed, and several of God's parts carry two or three meanings; God's face, for example, can also represent the "vnuisable nature of Christes deuinitie." Hutchinson's analysis provides, however, a useful baseline for understanding how Protestants wished divine symbols to be seen. In terms of providence, while other body parts can symbolize divine wrath and judgment, only

⁴³ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 161.

⁴⁴ Roger Hutchinson, *The image of God* (London, 1560), sig. A8r.

⁴⁵ Hutchinson, *The image of God*, sig. A8v.

God's hand was at times "taken ... for his power," providing a general image of providence.⁴⁶

Several Protestant woodcuts employed images of God's hand to evoke just this sense of divine power. One of the most elaborate was the frontispiece for John Dee's pamphlet *A letter containing a most briefe discourse* (c. 1599) (plate 44). It is altogether likely that Dee personally oversaw the creation of the image and that he felt compelled to include all of those



Plate 44. John Dee kneeling, in John Dee, *A letter, containing a most briefe discourse apologeticall* (London: Peter Short, 1599), titlepage. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

⁴⁶ Hutchinson, *The image of God*, sig. B1r.

wrathful body parts in order to communicate his meaning properly.⁴⁷ Peter Short issued the first of two printings of Dee's *A letter*, which provided a defence of Dee's character and loyalty to both Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant faith against his many enemies who were circling in the English court. The startling frontispiece depicts Dee kneeling on a cushion inscribed "Hope, Humilite, and Patience" before the apparition of God's ear, eye, and sworded hand in the clouds, prepared to strike a many-headed monstrous human, which symbolizes Dee's many critics in the 1590s. As an apology for Dee's writings, the image both attacks his critics by subjecting them to divine judgment and shames them by picturing Dee as the good Christian who prays for those who persecute him.

Dee's image captures the spirit of Hutchinson's treatise, "from things visible to consider of thinges spirituall: from things transitory, and momentary, to meditate of thing permanent."⁴⁸ The transition from plural "things" to a singular "thing" is not insignificant here. It indicates the very essence of the iconic nature of these divine symbols in Protestant visual culture. This is what we discovered in chapter two when examining the theology of Theodore Beza. From the visible things like the dove, the cloud, and the Tetragrammaton as well as God's body, the reader could gain access to the singularity of the divine nature.

The Devotional Image

There was another side to these divine symbols in Protestantism, one that also communicated the nature of God but was more devotional in its intent. These images also depict interactive divine symbols that seemingly reach down from heaven and have direct communication with human figures in the woodcuts. These pictures are more intimate than the providential images discussed above, clearly intended as either examples of the sacred fellowship between humanity and God or more general representations of worship.

Some of the most pronounced examples of these more devotional images came from several Lutheran catechisms in a collection imported

⁴⁷ Dee's many surviving manuscripts demonstrate his own artistic abilities and his knowledge of symbols and visual representation: György Endre Szönyi, *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2004).

⁴⁸ John Dee, *A letter, containing a most briefe discourse apologeticall* (London, 1599), sig. Azv.

by Anthony Scoloker in the 1540s. First, there was *The ordenarye for all faythfull chrystians* (c. 1548) with thirty-three woodcuts, which was reprinted the same year. *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble* was printed twice in 1549 and then again in 1568. The woodcuts were originally created by Lieven de Witte in Ghent for the Dutch edition of the catechism printed in 1545. Though they were reduced in number and quality from Scoloker's English version, Thomas Marsh was able to summon twenty-two of the original images for his octavo edition in 1568.⁴⁹ While several of the images were first recycled in the Elizabethan period for Thomas Purfoote's printing of *A dialogue betweene experience and a courtier* (c. 1566), the images were intended for the Lutheran catechism and should be understood within the context of the text and surrounding images. Ten images contain a divine symbol, either the *Nomen Sacrum* or the *Dextera Domini*. Among them was a series of five images at the end of the work that recognized the presence of God in daily life. From sitting in one's bed at morning and at night, to the work of the day, while travelling on the road, and finally during meal times, God was always near.

One image is of two travellers on a road gazing up towards the Tetragrammaton (plate 45). Because of the domestic and everyday contexts of these images, they seem to serve as guides that enable their readers to recognize and realize the divine in their lives. The prayer following this image called upon our "heavenly father" to send the Holy Spirit so that a person "inwardlye shall thinke or have in mynde" the things of God.⁵⁰ What is most interesting about these different woodcuts is that only in the image of the family at mealtime, saying grace with their heads bowed, are the people not looking directly at the divine symbol in the sky. While Protestants believed that God the Father had never been seen and that God's nature was spiritual, they also emphasized that divine reality could be seen, as it were, outside the church walls, in the everyday. Calvin saw "the elegant structure of the world serving as a kind of mirror, in which we may behold God, though otherwise invisible" and explained further that "the worlds are images of invisible things ... by faith we understand that they were framed by the word of God."⁵¹ The depiction of the human figures staring at the Tetragrammaton is an attempt to reflect this belief. In the images, however, the sequence is reversed, so that it is the physical

⁴⁹ *A bryefe summe of the whole Byble* (London, 1568); Luborsky and Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books*, 1.204–5.

⁵⁰ Cornelius van der Heyden, *A briefe summe of the vvhole Bible* (London, 1568), sig. L6v.

⁵¹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 62.



Plate 45. Two travellers, in *The ordenarye for all faithful chrystians* (London: Anthony Scoloker, 1548), sig. F5r. [By permission of Bodleian Library, University of Oxford]

world and the border of the picture that “frame” the word of God. While these images coincided with Calvin’s desire to redefine the space of the sacred so that God could be met anywhere, even within books, the pictures also placed a representation of the Godhead before the eyes of the reader. This visualization in a sense undermined Reformed theology by picturing what could not actually be seen.

The devotional interaction between human figures and divine symbols was prominent in other Protestant printed images. In 1569, the woodcuts by Marcus Gheeraerts in Stephen Batman’s *A christall glasse of Christian reformation* contained two pictures with the Tetragrammaton and one picture with the dove. In the first of the former, the Pope orders the execution of a Protestant martyr as a group of believers in the background kneel in prayer, staring up at the Tetragrammaton. This image resembled the

depiction of an execution scene printed in the Harrison Bible, wherein Pharaoh orders an execution and Moses kneels before an anthropomorphic God in the background.⁵² The second of Batman's images depicts a male figure of Faith, very often pictured as female, staring directly at the Tetragrammaton. The third image was of the Holy Spirit as a dove hovering over the house on the rock, a metaphor for Christ as the source of human salvation (Matt 7.25-27). In this scene, a group of shipwrecked sailors attempt to find refuge on the rock as the dove shines like a lighthouse beacon above. More potent images of the dove could be found in the many pictures of the Annunciation of the Virgin in late-medieval and early modern manuscripts and prints that had their own renditions and refashionings in Protestant print.⁵³

An equally devout scenario was portrayed on every page of John Day's octavo collection of *Certain select prayers* (c. 1574)⁵⁴ (plate 46). Although more compact than Day's own prayer book, this collection did retain some of the classic prayer book design in its border woodcuts. The frontispiece depicted Faith, Hope, and Charity with hands together staring up at the Tetragrammaton. Nineteen different sidepieces with male and female Old Testament characters and the gossellers are repeated throughout the text, reminiscent of medieval books of hours. Though not as popular as Day's prayer book, the work was, as Ian Green terms it, a "commercial venture," being reprinted by Day twice in 1575 and 1577, and then by John Wolfe in 1586. These images depicted Gervase Babington's exhortation that "The name of God is said to be hallowed, when it is confessed & published as holy, reverend, pure, and high."⁵⁵ In Day's prayer book, the Biblical characters kneel in prayer, making an outward gesture of devotion as they gaze upon the Tetragrammaton that seems to contradict the reformers' teachings about idolatry. Among others, Thomas Cranmer had argued that if such reverence was to Christ or God then "seing that Christ is in heaven, to heaven they shuld loke up, wher christ himself is, and not gase upon an ymage."⁵⁶ Outward forms of piety done towards images, such as kneeling,

⁵² Stephen Batman, *A christall glasse of Christian reformation* (London, 1569), sig. D1v.

⁵³ At least five different woodcuts of the Annunciation were printed in Elizabethan England: David Davis, "Images on the Move: The Virgin, the *Kalendar of Shepherds*, and the Transmission of Woodcuts in Tudor England," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 12 (2009): 99-132.

⁵⁴ Augustine, *Certain select prayers gathered out of S. Augustines meditations, which he calleth his selfe talke with God* (London, 1574).

⁵⁵ Green, *Print and Protestantism*, 282; Gervase Babington, *A profitable exposition of the Lords prayer* (London, 1588), 131-32.

⁵⁶ Cranmer, *Catechismus*, sigs. D7r-D7v.

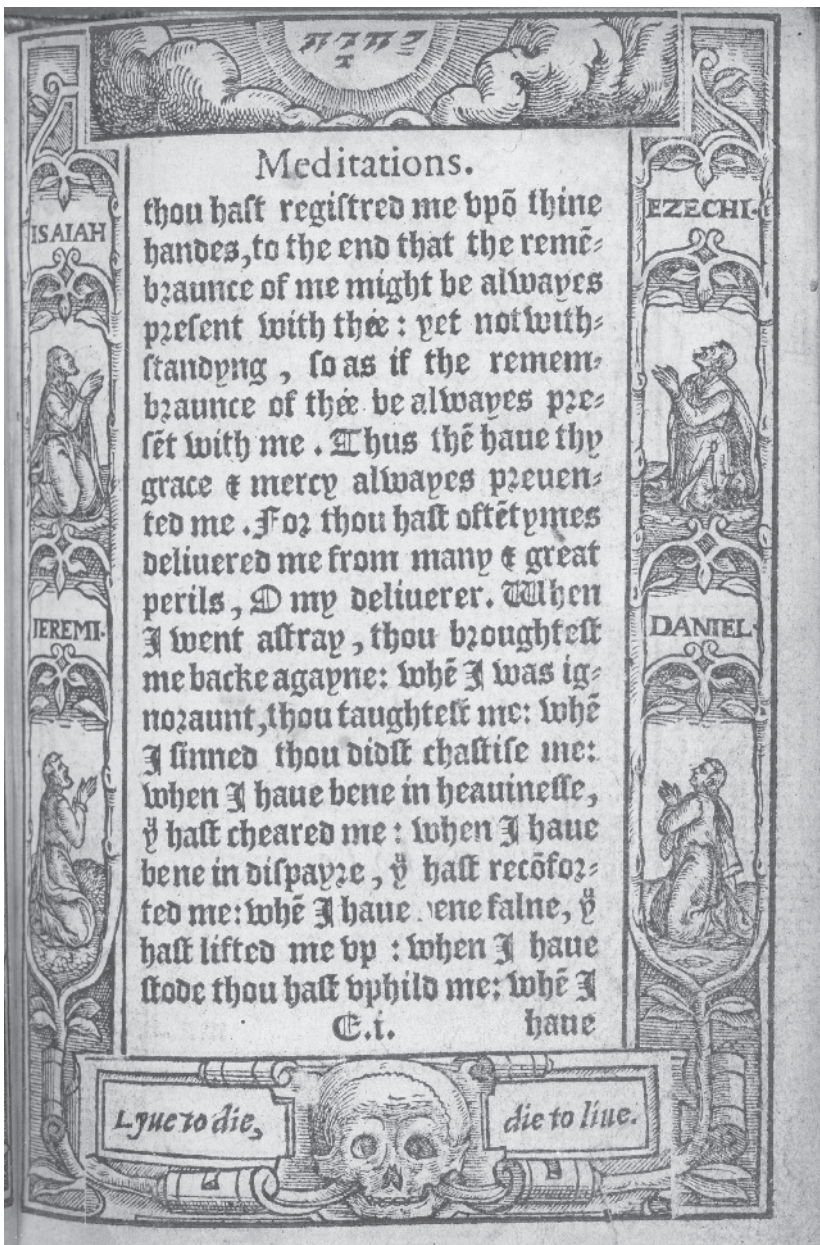


Plate 46. Border images, *Certaine select prayers gathered out of S. Augustines meditations* (London: John Daye, 1574), sig. Eir. [By permission of Huntington Library, San Marino, California]

prostrating, bowing, kissing, or gesturing, were sure signs of an idolatrous heart. The image of people kneeling at the elevation of the Host was a popular scene in late-medieval prints and was among the most distasteful displays for Protestants.⁵⁷ Even Desiderius Erasmus contested such outward displays of worship of divine symbols: "Now although the mind be pure from all superstition, yet it is not without the appearance of superstition, when one that maketh his prayers, doth kneel or fall down flat afore a ... image, and hath his eyes fast set and looking upon it."⁵⁸

Another occurrence of this picturing of godly people kneeling before a symbol of God was first printed by Henry Denham in Thomas Rogers's work *A golden chaine taken out of the psalms* (c. 1579). Printed in this duodecimo book, these metric prayers were an easy-to-read devotional taken from the psalms and proverbs of the Old Testament. Before each section was an image of the author or Kings David or Solomon kneeling in prayer with an open Bible and staring up towards the Tetragrammaton⁵⁹ (plate 47). The inscription around David's oval picture reads, "Away fro me ye wicked; for I wil kepe the commandements of my God," and around Solomon's, "Blessed art thou, O lande, when thy king is the sonne of nobles." The two images appeared in over twenty editions from 1580 until the end of the Elizabethan period. Another similar image of David kneeling before the Tetragrammaton was included in the multiple printings of John Day's *Christian prayers and meditations*.⁶⁰ Whether in daily life, metrical worship, or martyrdom, the Tetragrammaton was continually the focus of devotion in printed images and, more importantly, was depicted with people kneeling in prayer before it. Thomas Becon encouraged his readers, "Where the name of God is diligently called upon, and most humble and hartly thanks geuen unto him for his fatherly and frendly giftes, there is hys blessing grace and favoure plenteous, there is the holy Ghost present, there is a mery conscience, ther al things prosper, there wanteth no good thing."⁶¹ In the Tetragrammaton, which many believed to be the

⁵⁷ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 238–40; Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image*, 117.

⁵⁸ Erasmus, *A Playne and godly exposition* (London, 1534), sig. T6v. For further discussion of kneeling see Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, Vol. I, 113–14, 158, 191, 428, 459.

⁵⁹ Thomas Rogers, *A golden chaine, taken out of the rich treasurehouse the Psalms of King David* (London, 1579), sigs. A12v, L2v. Also see Tara Hamling, "Guides to Godliness: From Prints to Plaster," in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 76–78.

⁶⁰ John Day, *Christian prayers and meditations* (London, 1569), sig. b4r.

⁶¹ Thomas Becon, *The pomaunder of prayer* (London, 1561), sigs. A2v–A3r.



Plate 47. David praying, in Thomas Rogers, *A golden chaine, taken out of the psalms of king David* (London: Henry Denham, 1579), A12v. [By permission of Houghton Library, Harvard University]

only accurate portrayal of God in image or text, the divine was made visible. In this visualization, however, the image referred back to the text, the written word. The picture was not a human embellishment of a description of God; it was the name of God, spoken by the voice of God, made into a sign that referred back to the perfect and absolute. Thomas Bentley encouraged godly women to demonstrate outward devotion to God in prayer while reading such good books,

make it their whole worke to praie, meditate, and read Gods word with other such good bookes, or at the least to allow to themselves some little portion or part of the daie and night, to prostrate themselves apart from all companie in praier and meditation before the Lord of heaven and earth their creator, redeemer, and saviour, and that in all christian perfection, and humble obedience to his word and commandements.⁶²

It was this image of God, in God's name, that should be an object of devotion and focus of worship. As Bullinger explained, "God is in the word of God exhibited to be seen, to be beheld, and to be known by visions and divine mirrors."⁶³ Divine symbols became the most accurate, or at least the least corrupted, mirrors that could be portrayed on the printed page.

These devotional images of the Tetragrammaton offered the Reformation an alternative, providing a vehicle with which to move away from the idolatrous images of the Mass. Susan Wabuda has demonstrated how the name of Christ and the Holy Monogram (I.H.S) took on a supernatural quality in late-medieval piety as a "stimulus for devotion" and were used in the early Reformation in England as a substitute for icons.⁶⁴ A similar transformation is evident in the Tetragrammaton, which became fresh terrain for Protestants to contest the image of God and how best to represent that image visually. In sixteenth-century England, there was a subtle transition from symbols replacing Catholic idols to symbols becoming the most appropriate representations of the divine. This transition is one of the most important changes in the visual culture, as Protestant identity began to express itself in the visible image as something iconographically distinct from its Catholic counterpart. Babington explained the glory

⁶² Thomas Bentley, "To the Christian reader," in *The monument of matrones conteyning seven severall lamps of virginitie* (London, 1582).

⁶³ Bullinger, "Of God," 137–38.

⁶⁴ Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 148–76 (154).

Protestants attributed to the Tetragrammaton: “the name of GOD signifieth here that majestie of GOD, power and infinite vertue that shyneth, sheweth it selfe in every thing so wonderfully. Even as it is usually taken in the Scriptures, and for the most parte signifieth.”⁶⁵ The transition is equally apparent in the way puritans began to vocally condemn other Protestants for their new-found adoration. The puritan *Admonition to Parliament* summarized their contempt,

When Jesus is named, then of goth the cappe, and downe goeth the knees, with suche a scraping on the ground, that they cannot heare a good while after, so that the word is hindred, but when any other names of God are mentioned, they make no curtesie at all, as though the names of God were not equall, or as though all reverence oughte to be given to the syllables.⁶⁶

At the end of the 1560s, the more radical cleric Anthony Gilby encouraged the extirpation of “knacks of popery” like kneeling at communion and before the name of Jesus.⁶⁷ And not all readers were willing to permit the printing of the Tetragrammaton: the name of God has been completely inked out on the frontispiece of Wilhelm Blaeu’s pocket-sized Greek New Testament (c. 1633).⁶⁸

The puritan response to this Protestant reverence for God’s name creates even more complexities around these symbols. Divine symbols were no mere replacement for the traditional image of God. The *Nomen Sacrum* and its compatriots were believed to be full of power that could be abused and manipulated, and they could become idolatrous if treated wrongly. However, it is difficult to believe that Gilby and other puritans did not own either Day’s *Certain select prayers* or a book of Psalms with pictures of Biblical saints kneeling before the image of God. For pious readers in Elizabethan England, the picture of the Tetragrammaton was almost unavoidable, and it became one of the most abundant depictions in print.

⁶⁵ Babington, *A profitable exposition of the Lords prayer*, 127–28.

⁶⁶ W.H. Frere and C.E. Douglas, eds., *Puritan Manifestoes: A Study of the Origin of the Puritan Revolt. With a Reprint of the Admonition to the Parliament and Kindred Documents, 1572* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1972), 29.

⁶⁷ Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, II.8.

⁶⁸ *He Kaine Diatheke* [Greek New Testament] (Amsterdam, 1633). Copy in the Dunham Bible Museum, call no. 09.718/1633.

Conclusion

The Tetragrammaton, while seemingly the one means of representing God that was acceptable to the majority of reformers, was not the simplistic image that many scholars have described. Not only could the Tetragrammaton be used in various ways, but it also could be a controversial topic among Protestants. Describing the place of the Tetragrammaton in Tudor England, Robert Scribner notes that it was used “to limit the acquisition of sacred knowledge merely to the printed word, the question of ‘ways of seeing’ continually reasserted themselves, even if it were only through recourse to symbols or emblems, which were no more than desensitized images.”⁶⁹ While sacred icons were no longer permissible, people were encouraged to seek sacred knowledge within the printed text. There they could find God in a variety of desensitized symbols, as their source of providence and a focus of devotion. There is something to be said for the idea that this symbolism had a sanitizing or anaesthetizing impact upon the devotional gaze.⁷⁰ Divine symbols replaced the traditional anthropomorphic God, and in so doing, they altered what people saw and how they saw God. Also, the recurrence of these symbols in innocuous places could easily have created a blind spot in many readers’ vision. Visual iconography as known in the late-medieval period was being pushed out of the public sphere and a more subtle representation of God was arising. Developing alongside the current of iconoclasm, these symbols redefined the locus of devotion, reworking conceptualizations of sacred space to allow for a greater access to the divine in the everyday.

In practice, divine symbols did not provide a boundary for what could or could not be portrayed. The retention of anthropomorphic divine images in key works of religion, particularly the Geneva Bible and the Bishops Bible, suggests a wide recognition that this imagery was necessary, even if it was not, for everyone, completely desirable. The purpose of

⁶⁹ Robert Scribner, “Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late-Medieval and Reformation German,” in *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 104–28.

⁷⁰ Scribner’s more elaborate discussion of the “cold” (or didactic) gaze versus the sacred/devotional gaze cannot be fully discussed here. However, suffice it to say that I believe that while Scribner’s categories of ways of seeing are useful, they are neither entirely adequate nor do they completely reflect the ways in which early modern people accessed printed imagery. Further study, making thorough use of recent work on the history of the book and early modern reading practices, would serve to nuance these initial categories.

the symbolic images was to establish a new way of thinking about God. This chapter has demonstrated the ways in which divine images, regardless of the theological injunctions against them, were put to use in Protestant print. While images of God continued to carry a strong stench of idolatry, it is evident that Protestants, even those schooled in the Geneva-Calvinist tradition, were intent upon carving out a place for a God that could be seen.

CONCLUSION

The lines of demarcation between traditional and reformed religion determined by visual pictures are not nearly as clear as we would like to believe. Although one can argue that there are distinct differences in subject matter, material, and placement between Catholic and Protestant images, it is difficult to speak of a strict divide between the visible and invisible that separates the two religions. As we have seen, many images were capable of traversing the doctrinal divide. Furthermore, the Protestant use of printed images demonstrates an effort to visually represent religious belief. These texts exhibited a proclivity for certain representations and Biblical stories, whose appeal was not static. The theological and social implications of particular pictures varied across time. The use of certain depictions was also shaped by the limitations of the printing trade, which could be simultaneously inhibiting and creative.

Many images were placed within Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic texts and contexts; other images, like the Tetragrammaton, became established forms of Protestant representation and even provided iconographic identity. It is impossible to ignore, however, the polysemous nature of these illustrations as employed in early modern religious culture. As images depicted certain themes in reformed ways, they also served to sustain aspects of traditional religion. Also, images acted as reminders of Biblical truths, focal points of meditation and commemoration, visual polemic, illustrations of religious texts, and visualizations of beliefs. Understanding how particular readers engaged with the visual images is often beyond the historian's ability, but there are clues in the image itself, its relation to the wider text, and any evidence of its reading that survives (e.g. marginal notes, removal, pasting an image in another text, copying or drawing an image, and destroying or marring the image).¹ Furthermore, a

¹ Several caveats about readership have been mentioned throughout this book. Although these are only suggestive, and by no means systematic, they do provide interesting details about the function of printed images and their interaction with early modern culture. Protestants made every effort to strip images of sacred qualities, but it seems that this did not entail excluding them from any role in religious practice or denying them any cultural importance. Also see David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 61; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ch. 6; Roger

single image that appeared in different contexts did not necessarily always express the same meaning or have the same intent. Images like the *Agnus Dei* could quickly become objects of scorn and mockery as well as adulation and devotion. Joseph Koerner explains that such images were “materialized for display” in a ritual of derision that was just as much motivated by religious purpose as was the act of praying to the same image.²

The continued proliferation of religious images throughout the period lends itself to a view of the Reformation that jettisons oversimplified confessional lines. This interpretation recognizes both continuity and discontinuity with traditional religion and strives to identify the various types of Protestants and Catholics and “to recover the contemporary sense” of these terms “beneath the encrusted layers of ... Enlightenment values.”³ For the sixteenth century, rather than work with interpretative categories that place Protestant against Catholic or Calvinist against Lutheran, one must account for reform-minded Catholics, conciliarist reformers, and evangelicals in the 1530s and 1540s, as well as Calvinists, anti-Calvinists, recusants, church papists, and separatists later in the century. The situation is made more complex by the development of a multifaceted theology of images that justified certain types of imagery. The language of Lutheran *adiaphora* was employed both directly and more subtly in an ongoing effort to explain the parameters of image use. Certainly, as Alec Ryrie has explained, the influence of Lutheranism upon the English Reformation effectively dwindled in 1547.⁴ There is, however, some indication, as discussed in chapter one, that the footprints of English Lutheranism, in both personal devotion and visual culture, were not erased completely. This presence becomes even more evident when one considers both Queen Elizabeth’s personal inclination for the Augsburg Confession and avant-garde conformity, recently investigated by Tyacke and

Chartier, “General Introduction: Print Culture,” in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier (London: Polity, 1989), 1–7.

² Joseph Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion, 2004), 114–16 (289).

³ Alec Ryrie, “Paths Not Taken in the British Reformation,” *Historical Journal* 52 (2009): 2. See also Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Robert Lutton and Elisabeth Salter, eds., *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c.1400–1640* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie, eds., *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴ Alec Ryrie, “The Strange Death of Lutheran England,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53 (2002): 64–92.

Fincham, which promoted greater ceremonialism and was an established element of English religion by the 1590s.⁵ Both of these examples represent a tendency within early modern English religion to permit and at times promote visual and material forms of religious expression that did not coalesce entirely with standard reformed dogma and could coexist with iconoclastic austerity. In the context of printed images, this attitude could be found even in the theology of Calvinists such as William Fulke and William Perkins, both of whom denounced religious imagery in churches but categorically permitted Biblical images in print, and then, of course, the reading of the Bibles in which these images appeared in church pews and pulpits.

Printed images were placed in the public domain of the book, in both cheap and expensive works, in both Latin and English print, and were widely distributed. Chapter one argued that the stalwart censorial mechanisms of English printing were rarely directed at the printed image, particularly when the image was published by a Protestant stationer. This is not to suggest that the English government turned a blind eye to heterodoxy, but rather it seems that we should revise our historical conceptions of understandings of visual images as heterodox or not. Elisabeth Salter has demonstrated that English censors were adamant about regulating devotional literature in order “to be a powerful force in forming the beliefs of the population.”⁶ We must therefore take note when such stringent measures were not enforced for the slew of printed images.

Beyond demonstrating the various ways of depicting figures like Christ, the Virgin, or God and the semiotic codes within these depictions, the images offer insight into the construction of religious identity. The placement of an image in a book provided its reader with much more than a visual aid or illustration. The importance of these images, as Lee Palmer Wandel notes, lay not so much in their aesthetic quality or representational value as in their interactions with the text and how the reader accessed this relationship.⁷ Printed images offered an alternative experience from the text, providing the eye of the mind with a way of framing and understanding what was being read. These images remained essentially basic in their visual elements, providing a simplified representation

⁵ Fincham and Tyacke, *Altars Restored*, 31, 74–90.

⁶ Elisabeth Salter, “‘The Dayes Moralised’: Reconstructing Devotional Reading, c. 1450–1560,” in Lutton and Salter, eds., *Pieties in Transition*, 145–62 (161).

⁷ Lee Palmer Wandel, “Envisioning God: Images and Liturgy in Reformation Zurich,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993): 38–40.

of either contemporary reality or Biblical truth, but their communicative functions were quite diverse.

This study suggests that scholars abandon iconophobia as an identifying mark of the reformed culture of the English Reformation. In his original synthesis, Patrick Collinson offered up printed images as one of the most salient examples of iconophobia, saying, “Nothing demonstrates more forcefully” the prevalence of iconophobia than “the pictures which are missing” from late-Elizabethan and early Stuart books.⁸ The evidence presented here strongly suggests otherwise. Historians must begin to look beyond the idea that religious images disappeared in the late-Tudor period as a response to idolatry and address much more productive questions about what was preserved and how—readily, warily?—these images were enjoyed. Nevertheless, this book does not quash the iconoclastic spirit altogether. Images within church walls were the most obvious victims. That we know so much about exceptions to this process speaks as much to the historian’s enjoyment of identifying inconsistencies as to anything else. There is also evidence of attacks upon printed images of the Pope and St Thomas Becket, indications of a virulent animosity towards these particular figures.⁹ And we must not ignore the very likely possibility that some reformers, in the tradition of Karlstadt, would have liked to do away with all religious imagery. Calvinist theology leads in this direction, and certain radical separatists like Henry Barrow did tend towards this extreme. But there is no indication that in the sixteenth century even the puritans were opposed to all religious printed images.

The chapters here have described characteristics of a visual culture in Tudor England that was contextualized and shaped by the Reformation. Even those images that were often identified as precarious because of their connections to traditional forms of worship, like images of God,

⁸ Patrick Collinson, “From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia,” in *The Impact of the English Reformation 1500–1640*, ed. Peter Marshall (London: Arnold, 1997), 278–307 (294). Prominent English illustrators and English printers proved neither willing to create nor capable of creating new images, two key reasons why fewer new images appeared in the 1580s and 1590s. Furthermore, a steady flow of images was continually recycled from earlier works, and the influx of European printed images was increasing. On any given day, the material in the shops in St Paul’s churchyard and around London would certainly have been impressive. Elizabethan print shops, though they did not regularly create images themselves, were awash with recycled and imported woodcuts and engravings.

⁹ Often it was the prayers to St Thomas and remarks about the Pope that were removed: Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240–1570* (London: British Library, 2006), ch. 9. Similar images in windows were also removed: Margaret Aston, *England’s Iconoclasts: vol. I: Laws against Images* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 85–86, 214.

Christ, and the Virgin, made inroads into the visual culture. Instead of a complete obliteration of traditional visual piety, there seems to have been a fragmentation of these forms, diverted out of traditional sacred spaces and into many different, less sacred, arenas. While the Reformation was redrawing many of the boundaries of acceptable religious devotion and belief, printed images by and large remained within the limits determined by what most Protestants found useful. While terms like Protestant, Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran clearly defined particular groups in the Elizabethan period, the cultural milieu within which people defined themselves was much more amorphous and ambiguous. While a text could be identified as Protestant or Catholic, Lutheran or Calvinist, the pictorial images used to illustrate, interpret, and visually frame that text could not be so easily categorized. While Protestants were wary of many visual depictions, they seized upon other illustrations of religious belief and employed these images in ways they saw fit. The Reformation did not eliminate religious imagery from Protestant piety. Instead, the Reformation redefined the relationship of visual images to religion in its own terms and refashioned the ways visual images could and should shape religious culture.

APPENDIX

A CATALOGUE OF BOOKS WITH THE WOODCUT OF CHRIST JESUS
TRIUMPHANT (1578–1603)

* indicates a work recorded in Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland, 1485–1640* (London, 1913)

*STC 1492—Peter Baro, *Petri Baronis Stempani, Sacrae Theologiae in Academia Cantabrigiensi Doctoris ac professoris, in Jonam prophetam praelectiones 39 In quibus multa pié doctéque disseruntur & explicantur* (London: J. Day, 1579)

*STC 11231—John Foxe, *Christ Jesus triumphant A fruitfull treatise* (London: J. Day, 1579)

STC 12594—Walter Haddon, *Against Jerome Osorius Byshopp of Siluane in Portingall and against his slaunderous inveciues* (London: J. Day, 1581)

*STC 15280—Hugh Latimer, *Fruitfull sermons preached by the right reuerend Father, and constant martyr of Jesus Christ M. Hugh Latimer* (London: J. Day, 1584)

STC 12752.5—Sir William Herbert, *A letter written by a true Christian Catholike, to a Romaine pretended Catholike* (London: J. Windet, 1586)

*STC 3599—Stephen Bredwell, *The rasing of the foundations of Brownisme* (London: J. Windet, 1588)

STC 2479—Thomas Sternhold, *The whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. R. Day, 1591)

STC 2481—*The whole booke of psalmes. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. R. Day, 1591)

STC 24339—Richard Turnball, *An exposition upon the canonicall Epistle of Saint James with the tables, analysis, and resolution, both of the whole epistle, and everie chapter thereof* (London: J. Windet, 1591)

STC 24339.5—Richard Turnball, *An exposition upon the canonicall Epistle of Saint James with the tables, analysis, and resolution, both of the whole epistle, and everie chapter thereof* (London: J. Windet, 1592)

STC 13466—Adam Hill, *The defence of the article: Christ descended into Hell* (London: J. Windet, 1592)

*STC 13712—Richard Hooker, *Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall politie Eyght books* (London: J. Windet, 1593)

STC 2486—*The whole booke of psalmes collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. R. Day, 1594)

*STC 2490—*The whole booke of Psalmes Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. R. Day, 1595).

STC 2492—*The whole booke of psalms* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1597)

STC 2494—*The whole booke of Psalmes collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day, 1598)

STC 2497.5—*The whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1599)

STC 2500—*The whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1600)

STC 2500.3—*The whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1600)

STC 2506—*The whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day 1602)

STC 2509—*The whole booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meetre* (London: J. Windet f. assigns of R. Day, 1603)

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